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# U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UN



REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE  
CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1962





*Pres. Ltr. 1396*

# **U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UN**

**REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE  
CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1962**

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# LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

## *The President to the Congress*

### *To the Congress of the United States:*

Pursuant to the provisions of the United Nations Participation Act, I transmit herewith the seventeenth annual report covering United States participation in the United Nations during 1962.

This record tells the story of deep United Nations engagement in the great issues of the 1960's. It demonstrates that despite the financial irresponsibility of some of its members, the Organization has, through executive action and parliamentary diplomacy, played an indispensable role in dealing with an impressive number of the world's problems.

The United Nations political relevance—and its developing capacity for effective action—is indicated by a brief look at several major aspects of world affairs and at what the United Nations did about them in 1962.

### GREAT POWER CONFRONTATION

When the Soviet Union sought to alter the balance of nuclear power by installing missile bases in Cuba, the United Nations—as well as the Organization of American States—proved an important instrument in resolving the most dangerous crisis of the nuclear era. The Security Council served as a forum in which the United States Government made clear to the world that its actions, taken in concert with its neighbors of the Hemisphere, were the reasonable response of rational men to a sudden and unacceptable threat in their midst. The Secretary General, only recently elected to his post after a period as Acting Secretary General, provided a useful point of contact in the early stages of negotiations with the Soviet Union. The United Nations also could have provided an on-site inspection service at short notice had the Cuban Government not refused to cooperate with the world organization, and made necessary a continuation of other means of surveillance in the interest of hemispheric security. Finally, the

United Nations provided an appropriate place for negotiating the remaining issues after Soviet missiles had been withdrawn.

It was in 1962 that a major United Nations peacekeeping force in the Congo established a level of internal security which permitted a very substantial reduction in the size of that force. The Central Government of the Congo, assisted by the United Nations, has preserved (in the words of the Charter) its "territorial integrity and political independence"—and thereby forestalled a threat to international peace—in the face of three attempts at secession: a communist-sponsored effort in the north, a local eruption in the interior, and a secession backed by outside interests in the south. Assisted by technical aid from most of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, the Government of the Congo has meanwhile increased its capacity to manage an economy of rich potential in the face of severe difficulties, including a crippling lack of trained manpower and experienced administrators.

In two other fields the United Nations has continued to be a vital instrument to effect a disengagement in important sectors of the great power confrontation. The Organization has served as a forum for encouraging an agreement for the cessation of nuclear weapon testing and for promoting progress toward general disarmament. It has served, as well, as a mechanism for negotiating legal principles and technical cooperation in outer space. We must be no less concerned with these persistent efforts to shape the future within the framework of the United Nations Charter than we are with United Nations operations designed to respond to the alarm bells of the present.

#### OTHER INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

During 1962 an impending conflict was averted in West New Guinea—the first territory administered by an international organization—by the patient work of a United Nations mediator. In the Middle East the United Nations Emergency Force, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees were on the job of removing and reducing tensions, and controlling those that could not yet be removed. In Kashmir, United Nations contingents patrolled under provisions of truce and cease-fire agreements. In Korea, a United Nations Commission stood ready to help in the unification of the country in accordance with resolutions of the General Assembly. (Since the end of 1962, the United Nations has begun another work of peacemaking, through an agreement for the disengagement in Yemen of the United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia.)



## FINANCING PEACEKEEPING

At the 17th General Assembly the United Nations received and then accepted the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice that peacekeeping expenses of the United Nations in the Congo and the Middle East, earlier approved by the Assembly, are expenses of the Organization within the meaning of Article 17 of the Charter. The failure of member states to pay their related assessments would thus subject them to the loss-of-vote provisions of Article 19. The Court's opinion and its acceptance set the stage for what, based on later actions by the General Assembly, promises to produce a sturdier sense of financial responsibility on the part of most of the members.

## COLONIAL QUESTIONS

Despite predictions of "another Congo", the United Nations trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi moved peacefully from dependence under Belgian administration to independence as the Republic of Rwanda and the Kingdom of Burundi and then to membership in the United Nations. The Organization continued to tackle the problems of non-violent transition as awakening peoples moved steadily toward independence from older colonial patterns. The remnants of the world's colonial past still present some hard cases—the last precisely because they are the hardest—which will test the capacity of the world community, and of the United Nations, to devise the procedures and institutions of peaceful change.

It should come to us as no surprise that the struggle for national self-determination should be so closely linked with other fundamental questions of human rights. It has been so in our own country. As the decolonization process nears an end—with miraculously little bloodshed—men and nations can shift their attention from national freedom to the larger issue of individual freedom.

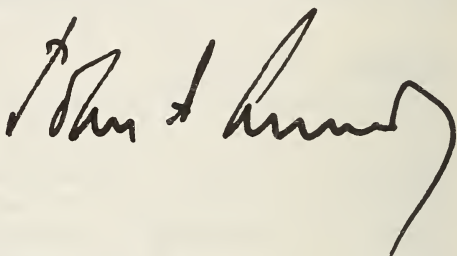
## THE DRIVE FOR MODERNIZATION

Through its Specialized Agencies and regional commissions—its technical assistance and pre-investment work . . . its civil role in the Congo . . . its new projects such as the World Food Program, the World Weather Watch, and regional planning institutes . . . its standard-setting and rule-making roles in such fields as maritime safety and international radio frequency allocations . . . its useful reports and its many conferences—the United Nations moved ahead as the principal international executive agency of the Decade of Development. We continue to believe it possible, through vigorous interna-

tional cooperation, to achieve an average annual rate of economic growth of five percent in the newly developing nations by the end of this decade.

In short, the United Nations in 1962 was confronted—in practical and operational ways—with a broad agenda of the great issues of our time. Like most institutions devised by man, the United Nations exhibited both accomplishments and shortcomings. But despite non-cooperation from some members and wavering support from others, the Organization moved significantly toward the goal of a peace system worldwide in scope. The United States will continue to lend vigorous support to the building of that system.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
*November 20, 1963*

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to be "Lyndon B. Johnson". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long, sweeping tail that extends downwards and to the right.

## *The Secretary of State to the President*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
*Washington, November 15, 1963*

THE PRESIDENT:

Under the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress) the President transmits annually to the Congress a report on United States participation in the United Nations. A report on the activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies for the year 1962 has therefore been prepared.

As in previous years, the report is a comprehensive survey of the Government's participation in the work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

I recommend that you approve the report for transmittal to the Congress.

Faithfully yours,

*Dean Rusk*

THE PRESIDENT,  
*The White House.*





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## *Maintenance of Peace and Security*

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### DISARMAMENT AND CESSATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS

#### *Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC)*

During 1962 the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC) at Geneva was the principal forum for negotiations on general and complete disarmament and on ending nuclear weapon tests. Formal negotiations on general disarmament had been at a virtual standstill since the Soviet Union walked out of the 10-Nation Committee in June 1960. However, negotiations on a test ban had been in progress at the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests, which had been meeting almost continuously since October 1958. This Conference held its last meeting on January 29, 1962.

Bilateral discussions between the United States and the U.S.S.R., held during 1961 in an attempt to break the deadlock in disarmament negotiations, were followed by a General Assembly resolution, unanimously adopted on December 20, 1961. This resolution welcomed the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations, reached by Presidential Adviser John J. McCloy and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Zorin on September 20, 1961; recommended that negotiations on general and complete disarmament under effective international control be based on those principles; and endorsed the U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement on the ENDC as the forum for disarmament negotiations.

Agreement was reached among the members of the ENDC to begin negotiations on March 14, 1962. Following this agreement, the heads of government of the major negotiating powers exchanged correspondence concerning their roles and attitudes toward the forthcoming

ENDC Conference. On February 7, 1962, President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan proposed to Premier Khrushchev that heads of government assume personal responsibility for the direction of the negotiations and that the negotiations begin at the Foreign Minister level. They rejected Premier Khrushchev's counterproposal that negotiations begin at the heads of government level, on the ground that participation by the heads of government might retard rather than advance the prospects for disarmament unless there had been prior systematic negotiations. At the same time, President Kennedy indicated that he would participate at any stage of the Conference when "such participation could positively affect the chances of success." Premier Khrushchev, in his February 21 reply, charged that the Western proposal to hold negotiations at the Foreign Minister level was related to the desire of the United States and the United Kingdom to resume atmospheric testing. President Kennedy refuted the Soviet charges on February 24 and stated that the resumption of Soviet nuclear weapon tests in September 1961 made any steps taken by the United States to resume testing "a matter of prudent policy in the absence of the effectively controlled nuclear test agreement" that the United States had sought.

On March 2 President Kennedy authorized a new series of atmospheric tests in the Pacific to begin in late April. He noted that the 1961 Soviet tests had emphasized the development of new weapons and that consequently further Soviet tests coupled with an absence of further Western progress "could well provide the Soviet Union with a nuclear attack and defense capability so powerful as to encourage aggressive designs." At the same time, the President expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would yet accept the U.S.-U.K. draft treaty of April 1961 for terminating nuclear weapon tests which, with certain modifications, would be submitted to the ENDC. He said that the United States would not carry out its testing plans if the Soviet Union signed such a treaty by the latter half of April. Premier Khrushchev's reply of March 3 reiterated continued Soviet rejection of the U.S.-U.K. proposal, but did state Soviet agreement to begin negotiations at the Foreign Minister level.

The ENDC, comprised of the former members of the 10-Nation Committee (Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Poland, Rumania, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the U.S.S.R.), plus Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, and the United Arab Republic, opened its Conference in Geneva at the Foreign Minister level on March 14, 1962. France did not participate on the ground that the negotiations should be restricted to countries already possessing, or very soon to possess, nuclear weapons, and that



the question of halting nuclear weapon tests should be secondary to that of destroying existing weapons and halting their manufacture.

At its initial meetings, the ENDC adopted certain procedural arrangements to expedite negotiations. It designated the representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union as permanent cochairmen and decided to rotate among all the ENDC members the daily chairmanship of the Conference. The Conference established a Committee of the Whole to consider collateral measures for the reduction of international tension, and set up a Subcommittee on a Treaty for the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests comprised of the Representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. General and complete disarmament was discussed in plenary sessions. The Conference also held some informal sessions to permit all delegates to discuss certain substantive and procedural matters on an off-the-record basis.

During 1962 the ENDC met in three sessions: March 14–June 14, July 16–September 7, and November 26–December 20. The permanent cochairmen of the ENDC have transmitted two interim progress reports to the U.N. Disarmament Commission. In an effort to achieve a test ban agreement by January 1, 1963, the tripartite Subcommittee continued to meet during the recess between September 7 and November 26. The ENDC submitted a report on the test ban negotiations to the U.N. General Assembly on December 7.

The American delegation to the ENDC was headed by Ambassador Arthur H. Dean. Ambassador Charles C. Stelle served as his deputy and spoke for the United States during his absence.

### Negotiations for General and Complete Disarmament

Two basic proposals for general and complete disarmament have been considered by the ENDC. They are the U.S. "Outline of Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World," introduced on April 18, 1962; and the Soviet Union's "Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament Under Strict International Control," which was submitted on March 14, 1962. These documents reveal fundamental differences between the U.S. and Soviet approaches to disarmament.

#### U.S. TREATY OUTLINE

Distinctive in both purpose and scope, the U.S. treaty outline represents the most comprehensive disarmament proposal ever advanced by any government. To achieve its goal of general and complete disarmament in three stages, the United States proposes the

progressive, across-the-board reduction and eventual elimination of all major armaments, including nuclear delivery vehicles. Major armaments and delivery vehicles would be reduced by 30 percent in Stage I, by 50 percent of the remainder in Stage II, and would be eliminated from national arsenals in Stage III. The United States believes that this approach, designed to preserve the existing balance in present military establishments between nuclear and conventional striking power during the entire disarmament process, will protect the security interests of all nations.

Reduction of U.S. and Soviet forces to 2.1 million in Stage I and 1.05 million in Stage II, with corresponding reductions by other nations, is another provision of the U.S. plan. The proposal also contains essential measures to be taken in Stage I to meet the nuclear threat, including a cutoff of the production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapon purposes; and calls for the carrying out in Stages II and III of additional measures to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons remaining in national arsenals, after international experts have completed a study of the means for implementing these measures. In the U.S. plan, Stages I and II would each require 3 years for completion, and Stage III would be completed as soon as possible.

Appropriate inspection and verification at all stages, both of arms destroyed and of permitted levels of retained arms, are also important parts of the U.S. plan. Verification would be commensurate with the specific disarmament measures being carried out. As a possible way of assuring observance of the treaty, the United States has suggested a progressive zonal inspection system.

The establishment of an International Disarmament Organization within the U.N. framework is an additional proposal in the U.S. plan. The plan also contains specific provisions for a prohibition against placing weapons of mass-destruction in outer space; the institution of measures aimed at reducing the risk of war—measures which could be initiated prior to the conclusion of an overall disarmament treaty; the strengthening of peacekeeping arrangements and improved procedures for peaceful settlement of disputes; and the establishment of a U.N. peace force in Stage II. The United States has maintained that disarmament *per se* will not usher in a peaceful world but that international institutions must be gradually strengthened during the course of the disarmament process in order to insure the security of all nations. Throughout the three stages of the U.S. plan, states would seek to improve procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and support measures to improve the capability of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security.

## SOVIET DRAFT TREATY

The Soviet plan, on the other hand, emphasizes the reduction of selected categories of armaments in each of its proposed three stages. Initially it provided for the total elimination of nuclear delivery vehicles in Stage I, along with the complete abolition of foreign bases and withdrawal of foreign troops. This proposal, which would have altered radically the existing military balance in a manner unfavorable to the West at the outset of the disarmament process, was in sharp contrast to the U.S. approach. The Soviet draft treaty was revised in September 1962 to permit retention by the United States and the Soviet Union on their own territory of a limited number of inter-continental ballistic missiles, anti-missile missiles, and surface-to-air missiles until the end of Stage II; however, measures concerning foreign bases and troops remain unchanged. In another revision of its position the Soviet Union adopted the U.S. percentage reduction formula for conventional armaments. It refused, however, to apply this formula to nuclear delivery vehicles.

With respect to force levels, the Soviet Union's original proposal specified the reduction of U.S. and Soviet forces to 1.7 million in Stage I and 1 million in Stage II, although the Soviet Representative later expressed his Government's willingness to accept 1.9 million for Stage I. The Soviet proposal on verification is concerned solely with arrangements to check declared production facilities and to insure the destruction of certain armaments to be agreed upon. Unlike the U.S. plan, it makes no provision to insure adherence to agreed levels of remaining armaments or to ascertain that no weapons have been secretly hidden. In the initial Soviet plan, the three stages leading to disarmament were to require a 4-year period, with Stage I being carried out in 21 months. Subsequently, the overall time period was extended to 5 years, with Stage I becoming a 2-year period. The Soviet Union has claimed that disarmament by itself could virtually assure peace. It would rely on the U.N. Security Council to enforce the peace, with the assistance of national contingents under the command of a "troika" of Western, Communist, and nonaligned officers.

## CONSIDERATION BY ENDC

The representatives in the ENDC plenary sessions have attempted to merge the U.S. and Soviet drafts into one draft treaty. They initiated an article-by-article draft of agreed language during the ENDC's first session (March 14-June 14), and almost full agreement was reached on a draft preamble. Joint working drafts of the first three articles, however, showed that serious conflicts between the two plans could not be overcome. The discussion in these early sessions



pinpointed the differences between the two sides. These differences related principally to the extent of first-stage reductions of nuclear delivery vehicles, the question of military bases, the matter of verification, the question of peacekeeping machinery, and the time periods required for each stage.

ENDC deliberations were also held in the Committee of the Whole during the first session. After lengthy consideration and as a compromise, a Soviet proposal on the cessation of war propaganda was selected as the first item for consideration by the Committee. By May 25 the Committee had unanimously approved *ad referendum* the text of a draft declaration against war propaganda to which the United States and the Soviet Union, taking into consideration the views of other ENDC members, had agreed. Four days later, however, the Soviet Government sharply reversed its position by refusing to approve the draft declaration and insisting on amendments to the text which were unacceptable to the Western Powers. One of the amendments called for the enactment of laws making any form of war propaganda a criminal offense. The United States had already rejected this provision in preliminary discussions as being contrary to its constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and of the press. After terming the Soviet amendments unacceptable, it indicated that no further fruitful negotiations on this matter were possible at this time in view of the Soviet Union's complete turnabout.

When the second session of the Conference convened at Geneva in mid-July, the Western delegates pressed for the adoption of a work plan to facilitate discussion in depth of key measures in the two disarmament programs before the Conference. As a result, the second session of the ENDC gave detailed consideration to three items: (1) basic obligations concerning disarmament, verification, and maintenance of international peace and security; (2) nuclear weapon delivery vehicles; and (3) conventional armaments.

Although these deliberations did not result in agreement on any additional articles for a combined draft treaty, the United States and the Soviet Union did introduce certain modifications to their original disarmament plans during this session. The U.S. delegation submitted amendments concerning the production of existing and new types of armaments and the transition from stage to stage of the disarmament process. The Soviet Union's amendments included virtual acceptance of U.S. views on one point by providing for 30 and 35 percent reductions in conventional arms in Stages I and II, respectively, and measures to reduce the risk of war similar to proposals previously introduced by the United States. The risk of war measures, however, were linked to other Soviet Stage I proposals and called for



a ban on joint maneuvers involving forces of several countries. The joint maneuvers ban was unacceptable to the United States and its allies.

### **Negotiations for a Nuclear Test Ban Agreement**

During 1962 the ENDC Subcommittee on a Treaty for the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests (composed of Representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R.) was the main forum for nuclear test ban negotiations.

During the first session of the ENDC, the Subcommittee considered the draft treaty on a test ban presented on April 18, 1961, by the United States and the United Kingdom at the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests, and the Soviet draft treaty of November 28, 1961. The U.S.-U.K. treaty proposed banning all tests in the atmosphere, outer space and underwater, and all underground tests except those producing signals of less than 4.75 seismic magnitude. It also advocated the establishment of an international system of internationally operated control posts, an international system of inspection, including the right to conduct a limited number of on-site inspections of unidentified seismic events, and an international control commission to supervise verification arrangements aimed at ascertaining that tests in all environments had ceased. On the other hand, the Soviet draft treaty proposed exclusive reliance on existing national detection systems to police a nuclear weapon test ban in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space, with an unpoliced moratorium on underground tests pending the development of a control system for general and complete disarmament. This Soviet refusal to accept the principle of international verification, which it had previously accepted, constituted a serious setback in the test ban negotiations.

The U.S. and U.K. Representatives, immediately after the opening of the ENDC Conference, stated the willingness of their Governments to amend their draft treaty to prohibit, with adequate verification, all underground tests of whatever magnitude, thus eliminating the seismic threshold of 4.75 without increasing the number of control posts or the annual quota of on-site inspections. In addition, the two Governments offered to allocate inspections so that most of them would be conducted in highly seismic areas, with only a few taking place in aseismic regions. The Soviet Representative still rejected the draft treaty, even with the proposed modifications.

In an attempt to forestall a possible deadlock in the ENDC due to Soviet refusal to accept the principle of international verification, President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan on April 9 per-

sonally appealed to Premier Khrushchev to reconsider the Soviet position. Pointing out that scientific instrumentation was not capable of distinguishing earthquakes from underground explosions, they noted that the effectiveness of a treaty depended on the inclusion of measures for adequate verification. They further advised Premier Khrushchev that there was still time to reach agreement if the Soviet Union expressed readiness to accept the principle of international verification. Otherwise the U.S. tests planned for the end of April would have to be conducted. Premier Khrushchev rejected the Kennedy-Macmillan joint statement on April 12. Also, in reply to a personal note from Prime Minister Macmillan, he claimed that the only reason the Western Powers wanted inspection was "for choosing the moment to attack the Soviet Union."

Also on April 12, the Soviet Representative agreed at Geneva to a proposal made by various members of the ENDC, who had appealed to the nuclear powers directly concerned, not to resume testing for the duration of the Conference. The United States, however, reminded the conferees of the Soviet Union's violation of the previous moratorium in September 1961 and rejected Soviet endorsement of the proposed moratorium as "another unfortunate effort to substitute paper pledges for guaranteed agreements."

#### EIGHT-NATION JOINT MEMORANDUM

On April 16 the eight new ENDC members attempted to close the wide gap existing between the United States and the United Kingdom on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other. They introduced a joint memorandum that asked the nuclear powers to consider these "suggestions and ideas":

3. They [the eight members] believe that possibilities exist of establishing by agreement a system for continuous observation and effective control on a purely scientific and non-political basis. Such a system might be based and built upon already existing national networks of observation posts and institutions, or if more appropriate, on certain of the existing posts designated by agreement for the purpose together, if necessary, with new posts established by agreement. The existing networks already include in their scientific endeavours the detection and identification of manmade explosions. Improvements could no doubt be achieved by furnishing posts with more advanced instrumentation.

4. Furthermore, the feasibility of constituting by agreement an International Commission, consisting of a limited number of highly qualified scientists, possibly from non-aligned countries, together with the appropriate staff might be considered. This Commission should be entrusted with the tasks of processing all data received from the agreed system of observation posts and of reporting on any nuclear explosion or suspicious event on the basis of thorough and objective examination of all the available data. All parties to the treaty

should accept the obligation to furnish the Commission with the facts necessary to establish the nature of any suspicious and significant event. Pursuant to this obligation the parties to the treaty could invite the Commission to visit their territories and/or the site of the event the nature of which was in doubt.

5. Should the Commission find that it was unable to reach a conclusion on the nature of a significant event it would so inform the party on whose territory that event had occurred, and simultaneously inform it of the points on which urgent clarification seemed necessary. The party and the Commission should consult as to what further measures of clarification, including verification *in loco*, would facilitate the assessment. The party concerned would, in accordance with its obligation referred to in paragraph 4 above, give speedy and full co-operation to facilitate the assessment.

After full examination of the facts, taking into account any additional data furnished to it as suggested above, the International Commission would inform the parties to the treaty of all the circumstances of the case and of its assessment of the concerned event.

The parties to the treaty would be free to determine their action with regard to the treaty on the basis of reports furnished by the International Commission.

Almost immediately there were questions from the Western Powers and the Soviets, seeking clarification of the meaning of the proposal, with subsequent discussion indicating widely divergent interpretations. The sponsors of the memorandum, however, indicating that it was intended merely as the starting point of "immediate, new and constructive negotiations" and not as a "complete blueprint," stated that the nuclear powers themselves would have to interpret the memorandum.

Representatives of the United States and of other Western Powers saw the memorandum as an endorsement of the principles of international control and the requirement for on-site inspection. The United States specified that the proposed international commission must have an unquestioned legal right of inspection. With this understanding, the United States and the United Kingdom accepted the memorandum as a basis for negotiation, albeit not the exclusive one.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, upholding its position on the efficacy of national detection systems and viewing the matter of on-site inspection as strictly invitational in character, interpreted the eight-nation memorandum in such a way as to make it practically coincide with its own November 28, 1961, proposal. In only this sense did it accept the memorandum as the basis for further negotiation.

The United States, in view of the failure to reach a test ban agreement, held its first in a series of atmospheric nuclear weapon tests on April 26. Although expressing regret at this action, most of the new ENDC members and Canada stated their hope that the joint memorandum might yet lead to an agreement, and Mexico on May 9 proposed that the nuclear powers fix a date for the termination of nuclear tests. The continued Soviet rejection of the West's proposals



for an international control network and compulsory on-site inspection dimmed prospects for reaching agreement. The Conference recessed on June 14.

#### NEW U.S.-U.K. PROPOSALS

The United States, in an attempt to break the deadlock on the test ban issue, proposed at the opening of the second session of the ENDC in mid-July a discussion and study of scientific findings which might have a bearing on the problem. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Dean, stressed the significance of recent data stemming from Project VELA, the U.S. program for basic research and technical improvement in seismic detection of underground explosions. Essentially, these data showed the existence of a substantially better capability to detect seismic events at long range and indicated that the number of earthquakes comparable to an underground nuclear explosion of a given magnitude was substantially less than had been previously thought.

President Kennedy's announcement on August 1 noted that as a result of these technical advances, the United States was now prepared to accept national control posts which would be "internationally monitored or supervised." The announcement stated that this internationally supervised system would be "simpler and more economical" than the system contained in the April 1961 U.S.-U.K. draft treaty. However, it also emphasized that the new assessments did not affect the requirement for on-site inspection of unidentified seismic events.

Following the President's statement, the U.S. Representative introduced at the Subcommittee meeting on August 9 certain modifications in the U.S. position on a comprehensive test ban agreement, which he had previously presented informally to the Soviet Representative. Included in these U.S. changes were an offer to cut by more than half the number of detection stations proposed to monitor a test ban treaty and acceptance of the principle of nationally manned stations but with the proviso that the Soviet Union agree to their supervision by the proposed international commission. The United States also offered to reduce the annual quota of on-site inspections. The U.S. Representative emphasized that the keystone of this new proposal was the obligation to accept on-site inspection and stated that all U.S. proposals were made contingent upon Soviet acceptance of this vital principle. The Soviet Representative immediately rejected this new proposal.

Despite this rebuff and as another indication of their continuing serious interest in reaching a test ban agreement, the United States and the United Kingdom presented two draft treaties on August 27.

The first, a revised comprehensive treaty, called for a total ban on nuclear testing in all environments based on internationally supervised, nationally manned control posts, and obligatory on-site inspections. The second called for a limited ban to end nuclear testing in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space, the three environments where a test ban could readily be monitored by national means without the necessity of establishing international verification machinery. In a joint statement, President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan emphasized the preference of their two Governments for prompt action on the comprehensive treaty but noted their readiness to conclude the partial test ban agreement if this was all that was possible at the time. The U.S. and U.K. Representatives, in presenting these treaties at Geneva, stressed that the proposals contained in both were consistent with recently publicized scientific findings and took into account the principles of the eight-nation joint memorandum. In addition, they indicated that the expressed wishes of the representatives of the eight nations, who had urged conclusion of a partial test ban agreement if efforts for a comprehensive agreement proved unsuccessful, had been an important consideration in their presentation of the more limited treaty.

Charging that the proposed treaties did not represent substantive changes, the Soviet Union rejected both and insisted that provision for on-site inspection was unnecessary. As a counteroffer, the Soviet Representative once more urged a comprehensive test ban agreement based on the Soviet interpretation of the eight-nation joint memorandum and indicated the willingness of his Government to consider a cutoff date on testing at the beginning of 1963. President Kennedy, although rejecting the repeated Soviet proposal for an uninspected moratorium, accepted the beginning of 1963 as a reasonable target date for the termination of all nuclear testing and indicated U.S. willingness to join with all interested parties to reach an effective agreement which would enter into force on New Year's Day.

The Soviet Union accepted the U.S. proposal for a continuation of test ban negotiations during the recess of the ENDC beginning on September 7, and the tripartite Subcommittee continued to meet at Geneva.

### *U.N. General Assembly Consideration*

With the opening of the 17th General Assembly on September 18, 1962, the scene for discussion of disarmament and nuclear testing issues shifted to New York. Members of the United Nations first expounded their views on these questions during the general debate,

prior to more detailed consideration in the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee.

One of the first speakers in the general debate was the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, who addressed the Assembly on September 20. He warned that "the suicidal arms race continues unabated." It continues, he said, "because no nation, confronted by hostile nations, can neglect its defenses. No great power can risk unilateral disarmament. There is one way—and one way only—out of this intolerable dilemma: that is a system of complete and general disarmament under which all nations progressively tear down—in plain view of the international community and with suitable safeguards—their own capacity to wage war."

On the question of verification, the U.S. Representative stressed that "practical verification is the essence of any workable agreement on general disarmament. . . . If other nations permit—as we have agreed to do—the degree of international inspection technically required for mutual security, we can end the arms race. But we cannot stake our national existence on blind trust—especially on blind trust in a great and powerful nation which repeatedly declares its fundamental hostility to the basic values of our free society."

Turning to the subject of nuclear testing, the U.S. Representative reviewed the position which the United States had taken at Geneva, pointing out that it preferred a comprehensive treaty which would ban all tests in all environments for all time. He observed that since 1945, when the United States began testing, it had exploded nuclear devices with a total yield of about 140 megatons; the Soviet Union, however, so far as could be ascertained by distant instrumentation, had since 1949, when it commenced testing, exploded devices with a total yield of approximately 250 megatons. Moreover, since the Soviet Union broke the moratorium in 1961, its explosions had yielded 200 megatons whereas those which the United States was then compelled to undertake had amounted to only 25 megatons.

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, in his address to the General Assembly on September 21, also referred to the disarmament and nuclear testing questions. Attempting to blame the NATO states for the failure to reach agreement, he claimed that the disarmament proposals of the Western Powers "are underlain, as hitherto, by the desire to institute control over armaments instead of over disarmament," and "to breach the defences of the USSR and the other socialist countries." After noting the refusal of the United States to accept the Soviet proposal for the elimination in the first stage of disarmament of all vehicles for the delivery of nuclear weapons, he announced a modification in this proposal. He said that the Soviet Government would



agree that in the first stage of disarmament "exception be made for a strictly limited and agreed number of global intercontinental missiles, anti-missile missiles, and anti-aircraft missiles of the ground-to-air type which would remain at the disposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States alone. Thus for a definite period the means of defence would remain in case someone, as certain Western representatives fear, ventures to violate the treaty and conceal missiles or combat aircraft."

In discussing the nuclear testing question, Foreign Minister Gromyko contended that states possessed the means to control compliance with an agreement on ending tests with adequate accuracy. He accused the Western Powers of "following the old line of a choice between the halting of tests plus the institution of a ramified system of espionage under the flag of control and the legalization of underground nuclear tests." He reiterated the Soviet proposal for an agreement to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space, with a provision that negotiations should continue on the cessation of underground tests and with an understanding that such underground tests should not be conducted during the negotiations.

#### **Cessation of Nuclear Weapon Tests**

On June 25, 1962, India requested the inclusion in the agenda of the 17th General Assembly of an item entitled "The Urgent Need for Suspension of Nuclear and Thermo-nuclear Tests." The high importance attached to this question by U.N. members was immediately apparent when the Political and Security Committee decided to place this item first on its agenda. The Committee devoted a longer time to consideration of this item than to any other subject—its discussions extending over the period from October 10 to November 5.

In opening the debate, Mr. Lall, the Representative of India, stressed the concern of the nonnuclear powers over this question. He said that ". . . the considerations which are germane to the stopping of nuclear tests are not considerations which affect only the nuclear Powers. We all have a right to see that these tests are stopped because we all have a right to protect this world from the massive destruction which would occur if there were an outbreak of war whether by design or by carelessness or by an outburst of anger or by accident." The Indian Representative recalled that the eight new members of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament had presented a memorandum to the Committee on April 16, 1962, and expressed the hope that the Assembly would unanimously appeal to the nuclear powers to reach an agreement on the basis of this memorandum. Many other U.N. mem-

bers also emphasized the extreme urgency of the nuclear testing problem and called for an immediate solution.

Ambassador Stevenson, the U.S. Representative, presented the U.S. position on October 10. He stated that the purpose of the Assembly's discussion was not to replace the Geneva negotiations but rather to encourage them and register the intense feeling of mankind on the nuclear testing question.

In reviewing the history of this issue, the U.S. Representative noted that the Soviet Union had in 1961 unilaterally ended the moratorium by conducting a massive series of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, "a test series which had been under preparation for a long time and which was climaxed by an explosion of such force that it surpassed all rational military use." He said that this experience showed that "where national security is concerned, an open society cannot undertake with a closed society an arrangement which cannot be verified."

The U.S. Representative recalled that after the Soviet Union resumed testing, the United States and the United Kingdom nevertheless continued their efforts to obtain a suitable test ban agreement, but without success. ". . . at last," he said, "after detailed scientific study, prolonged delay, and with deep reluctance, the President of the United States determined that in our own security interests, we too should have to return to testing in the atmosphere."

After pointing out the useful purpose of continuous negotiations, the U.S. Representative stated that some progress appeared to have been made during the year. The Soviets had apparently again reversed themselves and were now willing to accept a nuclear test ban agreement before general and complete disarmament, and would also accept some arrangement involving an international commission. The United States and the United Kingdom, for their part, had agreed that, as a result of recent improvements in scientific techniques for the detection of underground disturbances, a reduction could be made in the number of sites within the U.S.S.R. required to monitor seismic disturbances, and in the number of inspections required inside Soviet territory to ascertain that unidentified seismic events were not underground nuclear explosions.

Turning to the August 27 proposals of the United States and the United Kingdom, the U.S. Representative said that the United States wanted a ban on all tests for all time, "subject only to the necessity of international inspection in the one environment where it is scientifically necessary, that is, underground." He stated that the Western Powers had been aided by the positive contributions of the eight new members of the ENDC, that their memorandum expressed some ideas



which both sides could accept, and that the U.S.-U.K. comprehensive draft treaty was responsive to their ideas.

The U.S. Representative explained that U.S. insistence on the need for verification of underground phenomena was based on the scientific fact that techniques do not exist to distinguish between earthquakes and underground explosions without on-site inspection. He reminded the Committee that although the Soviets maintained that they had instruments for detection and identification which could operate on a purely national basis, they had declined invitations to bring forward their instruments. He stated that the Soviet proposal for invitational inspection would give a veto power over verification to the very state in which the suspicious event took place. He emphasized that the Soviet allegation that international verification was a cover for "imperialist espionage" was "transparently wrong," and explained in some detail how an international inspection system would operate to show that such an allegation was false.

While stressing that the United States would much prefer a treaty banning all testing everywhere, the U.S. Representative said that nevertheless, if the Soviet Union refused to accept such a treaty, the nuclear arms race could still be curbed by an agreement to ban all weapon testing underwater, in the atmosphere, and in outer space. Such a ban would deal with the test environments where at least 90 percent of the force of all nuclear tests have been exploded and would end the hazard of radioactive fallout. Moreover, no on-site inspection would be required since the parties could rely upon national detection systems to identify all but underground explosions. He rejected the Soviet argument that a ban on testing in these three environments would legalize underground testing. In conclusion, the U.S. Representative stated:

If we could here today, or in Geneva tomorrow, agree to ban nuclear testing of every kind, with security for all, we would lift a heavy burden from the hearts and shoulders of all mankind. If we can't, then let us at least, and without further argument or acrimony, do what we can for our fellow man and clear the seas, the air, and the space beyond, of these ghastly weapons and their poisonous spawn. There is no reason under heaven why this step should not be taken now, and every reason why it should be taken. Let us close our fateful discussion by resolving unanimously to end such tests and emancipate our people, yes, and our conscience, from this bondage.

Ambassador Zorin, the Soviet Representative, immediately followed Ambassador Stevenson in addressing the Committee. The Soviet Union, he claimed, favored "an immediate and unconditional prohibition of all nuclear tests," whereas the Western countries have used the issue of control to prevent an agreement so that they could continue testing. He maintained that the inspection system proposed by the

West could be used for the purpose of "pinpointing objectives for nuclear strikes." He alleged that national means were sufficient to detect underground tests and cited specific examples of such tests which, he said, had not been announced but were nevertheless detected at long distances away from the site.

The Soviet Representative expressed appreciation for the efforts of the eight new members of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament. He stated that their memorandum of April 16, which, he said, proposed control through inspection by invitation, was in fact a compromise between the opposing views and represented a constructive contribution.

Turning to the U.S.-U.K. proposal for a limited test ban treaty, the Soviet Representative claimed that there was nothing new in this idea, which reflected "the old policy of the United States . . . of keeping a free hand to conduct nuclear tests in order to perfect the means of mass destruction." If tests in only three of the four environments were prohibited, he said, underground tests would be legalized. He stated that if the Western Powers were not ready to agree now on the prohibition of all nuclear weapon tests, the Soviet Union would agree to a treaty prohibiting tests in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space, provided countries continued negotiations on the prohibition of underground tests, "it being understood that while these negotiations go on, and until an agreement is reached on the cessation of underground nuclear tests, such tests should not be undertaken."

On October 26 Ambassador Dean, the U.S. Representative, reiterated many of the points which Ambassador Stevenson had made earlier and answered the charges which Ambassador Zorin had leveled against the United States. He explained in detail the technical considerations which made on-site inspection scientifically indispensable in the case of underground tests. In this connection, he noted that although stations in other countries had recorded certain U.S. underground nuclear explosions, the United States had conducted "many underground nuclear explosions which were not even detected—let alone identified—" by instrumentation located outside the United States. He appealed to the Soviet Union to bring forward any scientific evidence it had to support its position. He also reviewed on-site inspection procedures to show the absurdity of Soviet "espionage" charges. These charges, he said, were "nothing more than a smoke screen to cover up the real reasons for the present Soviet refusal to sign an adequate and effective test ban treaty providing for international inspection of unidentified events. The Soviet Government is apparently determined at this time, either to continue nuclear testing . . .

or else it is unwilling or unable to accept a test ban for some political reason which the Soviet leaders do not wish to divulge."

On October 19 the eight new members of the ENDC and others introduced a draft resolution which was eventually cosponsored by 37 powers (Afghanistan, Algeria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Cyprus, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Laos, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, U.A.R., Venezuela, and Yugoslavia). Under this draft resolution, the General Assembly would, in operative paragraph 1, condemn all nuclear weapon tests and, in operative paragraph 2, ask that such tests cease "immediately and not later than 1 January 1963." Other paragraphs endorsed the eight-nation joint memorandum of April 16 (see page 8) "as a basis for negotiation"; called upon the parties concerned, taking as a basis the eight-nation memorandum and having regard to the discussions at the 17th General Assembly, to negotiate in order to reach agreement urgently; and asked the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament to pursue the matter expeditiously and report back to the Assembly by December 10.

Canada subsequently submitted a number of amendments to this draft resolution. The most important of these amendments was the addition of a new paragraph (later to become operative paragraph 6) which recommended that if the parties could not reach agreement on the cessation of all tests by January 1, 1963, they "enter into an immediate agreement prohibiting nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, accompanied by an interim arrangement suspending all underground tests, taking as a basis the eight-nation memorandum and taking into consideration other proposals presented at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly." The United States and the United Kingdom submitted an amendment to this paragraph providing that such an interim arrangement should include "adequate assurances for effective detection and identification of seismic events by an international scientific commission."

On October 19 the United States and the United Kingdom also introduced a draft resolution endorsing the two treaty proposals which they had presented to the ENDC on August 27. This draft urged the ENDC to seek conclusion of a treaty with "effective and prompt international verification which prohibits nuclear weapon tests in all environments for all time"; and expressed the belief that if such agreement was not reached expeditiously, the ENDC should seek conclusion of an interim treaty prohibiting nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, the oceans, and space.



The Committee voted upon the 37-power draft resolution and the U.S.-U.K. draft resolution on November 5. In the paragraph-by-paragraph vote on the 37-power draft, the key issues were operative paragraph 2 (the request that all tests cease by January 1, 1963) and the new operative paragraph 6 (introduced by Canada and including the U.S.-U.K. amendment). The vote on operative paragraph 2 was 88 to 10 (Australia, Belgium, Greece, Italy, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Turkey, U.K., and U.S.), with 8 abstentions. The vote on operative paragraph 6 was 62 to 11 (Soviet bloc and Cuba), with 31 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 81 to 0, with 25 abstentions (Soviet bloc (10), Australia, Belgium, China, Cuba, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Turkey, U.K., and U.S.). The United States voted against operative paragraph 2 because, standing alone, it might be interpreted as a request for an unverified moratorium. However, the United States was able to abstain on the resolution as a whole rather than vote against it because the objection to operative paragraph 2 had been substantially weakened by the Canadian and U.S.-U.K. additions which called upon the parties to reach agreement and which referred to the need for adequate international verification. As a result of these added provisions, the resolution did not contain a clear-cut request for a moratorium. The Soviet Union abstained on the resolution because it objected to the addition of the new operative paragraph 6.

The Committee adopted the U.S.-U.K. resolution by a vote of 50 to 12 (Soviet bloc, Cuba, and Mali), with 42 abstentions (Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cyprus, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, U.A.R., Upper Volta, and Yugoslavia). Before the vote, the United States and the United Kingdom agreed, at the request of various U.N. members, to withdraw the paragraph endorsing a limited test ban treaty, since the new operative paragraph 6 was included in the 37-power resolution as approved by the Committee.

On November 6 the General Assembly adopted both resolutions recommended by the Committee, the 37-power resolution by a vote of 75 to 0, with 21 (U.S.) abstentions, and the U.S.-U.K. resolution by a vote of 51 to 10 (Soviet bloc), with 40 abstentions. The Assembly had thus approved one resolution embodying the U.S. position and none endorsing the Soviet stand.

## General and Complete Disarmament

On September 17, 1962, the Secretary-General requested that the 17th General Assembly include in its agenda an item entitled: "Question of General and Complete Disarmament: Report of the Conference of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament." On September 24 the General Assembly approved the request. Following conclusion of the debate on nuclear testing, the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee considered this question in a series of meetings held November 5-19. These discussions showed that there was wide agreement that the place for detailed negotiations was in the ENDC and not in the General Assembly. However, the Assembly's meetings were helpful in giving U.N. members an opportunity to explain their positions and to emphasize to the ENDC the high degree of urgency they attach to disarmament questions.

Ambassador Zorin, the Soviet Representative, addressed the Committee on November 6. He stated that the Soviet position "consistently called for, from the very beginning of the process of disarmament, radical measures to ensure the elimination of the threat of nuclear-rocket world war"; and that the Soviet draft treaty on general and complete disarmament specified that in the first stage all means of delivery of nuclear weapons would be eliminated and military bases on foreign soil removed. He claimed that these measures constituted "the key to the solution of the whole problem," but that the United States had rejected them because it wanted to leave open the possibility of using nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Representative repeated the modification (see page 12) in the Soviet disarmament proposals which Foreign Minister Gromyko had mentioned during his general debate speech on September 21. He explained that this modification meant that during the carrying out of the second stage of disarmament, certain defensive weapons would be retained in case any country should violate the agreement. "After the destruction of the stock-piles of thermonuclear weapons during the second stage," he said, "all establishments manufacturing such weapons would be destroyed. The necessity for keeping the number of missiles agreed upon in the previous stage would thus disappear, and these remaining missiles would then also be destroyed."

After describing other provisions of the Soviet draft treaty, the Soviet Representative turned to the question of control. The Soviet Union, he said, favored "effective international control over general and complete disarmament." However, the Western Powers were "endeavouring to obtain agreement for control without disarmament, or control over armaments," which the Soviet Union could not accept.



The real object of the West's control proposals, he insisted, was "to gather intelligence information."

Following the Soviet Representative's presentation, Ambassador Dean gave the Committee a thorough explanation of the U.S. position on disarmament. He said that genuine negotiations were more urgent than ever before in the light of the Cuban crisis, and cited President Kennedy's letter of October 28 to Premier Khrushchev in which the President said:

I agree with you that we must devote urgent attention to the problem of disarmament, as it relates to the whole world and also to critical areas. Perhaps now, as we step back from danger, we can together make real progress in this vital field. I think we should give priority to questions relating to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, on earth and in outer space and to the great effort for a nuclear test ban. But we should also work hard to see if wider measures of disarmament can be agreed to and put into operation at an early date.

The United States Government will be prepared to discuss these questions urgently, and in a constructive spirit, at Geneva or elsewhere.

In reviewing the work of the ENDC thus far, the U.S. Representative noted that there were three immediate issues which divided the United States and the Soviet Union: (1) the question of what should and could be accomplished in the first stage of a disarmament plan; (2) the issue of verification; and (3) the problem of peace-keeping machinery.

Regarding the question of the first stage of a disarmament program, the U.S. Representative recalled that the United States had suggested a 30 percent cut across the board in all major conventional armaments and nuclear delivery vehicles. This kind of reduction, he explained, seemed possible because it need not fundamentally affect the relative balance of military strength. The Soviet Union, however, advocated a first stage disarmament program which affected primarily all nuclear delivery systems and called for the elimination of foreign bases. This program, he said, "is not a disarmament plan but, rather, a plan to disarm the free world." It would give a tremendous advantage to the Soviet Union and "radically shift the present balance of military forces."

With respect to the issue of verification, the U.S. Representative said that no disarmament plan could begin until there was agreement on an adequate and effective verification system, and explained that the U.S. plan provided for adequate verification procedures to insure that not only agreed limitations took place but also that retained forces or armaments did not exceed agreed levels. He recalled that the United States had offered an illustrative plan for progressive zonal verification, which it hoped would stimulate creative thinking on the subject. In contrast, the Soviet Union had rejected arrange-

ments to verify that agreed levels of armaments and armed forces were not exceeded. He concluded: "Because of the fundamental difference in our two types of society, one free and the other closed, apparently the Soviet Union has not the same interest in verification that we have."

In outlining U.S.-U.S.S.R. differences over the third problem, that of peacekeeping, the U.S. Representative stated that the United States believed that disarmament in a peaceful world was inextricably tied to the development of effective peacekeeping machinery, including an international peace force, and that full disarmament would not come until international practices and institutions provided a reliable substitute for arms. The U.S. plan thus emphasized the need for improved peacekeeping machinery, while the Soviet plan "seems to reflect the view that peacekeeping will take care of itself." In noting the need to build up international law and organization, the U.S. Representative recalled the important work of the International Law Commission (see page 362) and wondered whether ways could not be found to accelerate its work, by such means as increasing the number of its meetings or possibly even reconstituting it as a full-time body.

The U.S. Representative referred to the proposal of Foreign Minister Gromyko, made during the general debate and repeated by Ambassador Zorin, for a modification of the first stage of the Soviet plan. He said that this move "may forecast an attempt to restore credibility to the Soviet plan," but that before its significance could be ascertained it would be necessary to know the exact meaning of the proposal.

The U.S. Representative stated that while general and complete disarmament was the overriding responsibility of the Geneva talks, there were other agreements which could be entered into before general and complete disarmament. The United States, he said, supported the principle that agreement on the broadest possible scale should be reached as soon as possible.

In conclusion Ambassador Dean noted that the place where agreements were made was the negotiating table. He believed that the General Assembly could most effectively play its part by pressing the ENDC to resume its negotiations and make a supreme effort to reach agreement.

On November 9 the United Arab Republic submitted a draft resolution recommending that the disarmament question be referred back to the ENDC. This draft was revised on November 14 and the revision was sponsored by 33 powers (Afghanistan, Algeria, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chile, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq,

Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malaya, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden,\* Syria, Tunisia, U.A.R., and Yugoslavia). In its revised form, the draft resolution reaffirmed the need for the conclusion, at the earliest possible date, of an agreement on general and complete disarmament based on the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations which had been endorsed by the 16th General Assembly; and called upon the ENDC "to resume at Geneva its negotiations on general and complete disarmament, with effective controls, expeditiously and in a spirit of constructive compromise, until agreement has been reached." The draft resolution also recommended that the ENDC give urgent attention to various collateral measures intended to facilitate disarmament, and asked the Committee to report periodically to the General Assembly, and in any case not later than the second week of April 1963. On November 19 the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee approved the resolution by a vote of 97 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention. The General Assembly adopted the resolution on November 21 by a vote of 84 to 0, with 1 abstention.

### **Latin American Denuclearized Zone**

Meanwhile, on October 29, 1962, Brazil had introduced in the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee a draft resolution on the question of a Latin American nuclear-free zone. This draft resolution, as finally revised on November 15 and cosponsored by Bolivia, Chile, and Ecuador, recommended that the countries of Latin America, "through the means and channels which will be found most appropriate," negotiate arrangements for a Latin American nuclear-free zone with verification provisions to assure that the arrangements were in fact being observed. The draft also called upon all states to cooperate with the arrangements to be worked out, and asked the Secretary-General, upon the request of the Latin American countries, to help them to reach and implement the arrangements. On November 8 the Brazilian Representative informed the Committee that Brazil had introduced this draft resolution out of a desire to contribute to a solution of the Cuban crisis and also to a solution of the general problem of disarmament.

Many U.N. members, including the United States, expressed a sympathetic attitude toward the Brazilian proposal. In explaining the U.S. views, Ambassador Dean stated on November 6 that "in an area where nuclear weapons are not deployed, an agreement which would ensure keeping them out, including arrangements for verification, could be a most important contribution to our overall efforts to prevent the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons." At the same time



the U.S. Representative pointed out that such an arrangement should be arrived at freely by the relevant and essential states.

When the Cuban Representative commented on the draft resolution on November 16, it became evident that the essential agreement of the states in the area concerned had not been received. While stating that the idea of a Latin American denuclearized zone was "very acceptable," to Cuba, the Cuban Representative went on to attach three conditions to the proposal: (1) the nuclear powers should guarantee not to use their weapons against Latin America; (2) Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone should be included in the zone; and (3) all military bases in the territory of Latin America, including Guantanamo, should be removed. The U.S. Representative said that the Cuban statement was "frivolous and irrelevant" and that the Cuban conditions were unacceptable. He suggested that action on the Brazilian proposal should be postponed since, under these circumstances, there did not appear to be full agreement among the parties in the area concerned. On November 19 the Committee agreed with a Brazilian proposal to defer discussion on the draft resolution until later in the session.

When the Political and Security Committee resumed consideration of the question on December 18, the Representative of Uruguay suggested that further exchanges of views among the delegations most directly concerned would be useful and recommended that the vote be postponed until the 18th session. The Committee accepted this proposal without objection and the following day the General Assembly also concurred.

### War Propaganda

On September 21, 1962, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, in his speech during the Assembly's general debate, announced that the Soviet Union was requesting the 17th General Assembly to add to its agenda an item entitled "Condemnation of Propaganda Favouring Preventive Nuclear War." On the same day the U.S.S.R. requested circulation of an explanatory memorandum and a draft resolution on the subject. Under the draft resolution the General Assembly would, *inter alia*, condemn all appeals for preventive nuclear war; propose to all states possessing nuclear weapons "that they enter immediately into a solemn commitment not to be the first to use such weapons"; and recommend that all states enact legislation "declaring war propaganda in any form to be a most grave offence against the world and humanity and prescribing severe penalties for persons guilty of conducting such propaganda."



When the General Committee of the Assembly was considering the Soviet request for the inscription of the war propaganda item on September 26, the Soviet Union asked that the item be referred directly to the plenary "in view of its urgency." Ambassador Yost, the U.S. Representative, however, asked the Committee to recommend its allocation to the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee, where it could better be handled in conjunction with other items on disarmament. He reminded the Committee that during the spring the ENDC at Geneva had spent many weeks negotiating a declaration on war propaganda; that such a declaration was finally agreed upon; but that on the day the participants met in plenary to give final approval of their governments, the Soviet Union reversed its previously stated commitment and rejected agreement on the declaration (see page 6). The General Committee, by a vote of 14 (U.S.) to 3, with 4 abstentions, recommended allocation of this item to the Political and Security Committee, and the General Assembly on September 27 accepted this recommendation.

No substantive discussion of this item took place, however. As the Political and Security Committee was about to initiate discussion of the question on November 21, in the wake of the Cuban crisis, Soviet Representative Zorin proposed that neither the Committee nor the General Assembly consider the item but that they refer it instead to the ENDC. In making this proposal, the Soviet Representative stated that recent messages exchanged between Premier Khrushchev and President Kennedy had opened up new hopes for the reduction of international tension. On the following day the Political and Security Committee accepted without objection the Soviet suggestion to transfer the item to the ENDC. Carl T. Rowan, the U.S. Representative, made clear that there should be no implication that the Assembly, in taking this action, in any way subscribed to the explanatory memorandum or the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union or implied any recommendation on whether or with what priority the ENDC should take up the matter.

The General Assembly approved the Political and Security Committee's decision on November 27 without comment.

### **Inquiries on Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons and on Acceptance of Such Weapons**

The 16th General Assembly had adopted a resolution on November 24, 1961, which had condemned the use of nuclear weapons as contrary to the U.N. Charter and asked the Secretary-General to consult member states on the possibility of convening a special conference for

signing a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons and to report to the 17th Assembly. By the end of November 1962, 62 replies to the Secretary-General's inquiry had been received. Of these, 33 had expressed favorable views on the possibility of convening a special conference; 26 had expressed negative opinions or raised doubts; and 3 had indicated a preference to await the results of the ENDC's work.

The United States, which had voted against the 16th General Assembly's resolution, answered the Secretary-General's request for views on June 30. While noting the importance of the problem to which the resolution was directed, the United States expressed the belief that a prohibition on the use of nuclear weapons, "unaccompanied by measures leading to the attainment of general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world, cannot provide any real or lasting protection to potential victims of nuclear attack." The reply offered assurances that the United States would never use any weapon with aggressive intent. It went on to point out, however, that the United States must be fully prepared to exercise effectively its inherent right of individual and collective self-defense as provided in the U.N. Charter, and that the Charter made a distinction not between kinds of weapons but between the use of force for aggression and for defense. After expressing the firm belief that the only sure way to eliminate the threat to mankind posed by nuclear weapons was to remove them from the arsenals of the nations through a program of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the United States concluded that it was appropriate that the question of reducing and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons was being actively considered in the context of general and complete disarmament by the ENDC.

The General Assembly's Political and Security Committee on November 26 began debate on the Secretary-General's report containing the views of member states. Two days later, on November 28, Ethiopia introduced a draft resolution cosponsored by 19 other Afro-Asian countries and Yugoslavia. Under this resolution the General Assembly would request the Secretary-General to consult further with members to ascertain their views on a special conference and report on the results to the 18th General Assembly. The Committee adopted the resolution on November 29 by a vote of 50 to 0, with 26 (U.S.) abstentions. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on December 14 by a vote of 33 to 0, with 25 (U.S.) abstentions.

The United States abstained on the resolution rather than vote against it because it was essentially procedural and merely postponed further discussion. However, Senator Albert Gore, the U.S. Repre-

sentative, reiterated the reasons for U.S. opposition to a special conference banning the use of nuclear weapons. He warned that dealing separately with nuclear weapons without regard to conventional weapons and other armaments would upset the military balance and expressed the opinion that the proper forum for discussing the problem of weapons control—nuclear as well as other types—was the ENDC.

The 16th General Assembly had also asked the Secretary-General to consult on another question involving nuclear weapons. On December 4, 1961, it had adopted a resolution introduced by Sweden requesting him to inquire "into the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons on their territories on behalf of any other country." The Secretary-General was asked to report on the results of his inquiry to the U.N. Disarmament Commission. The United States had voted against the resolution on the ground that it called into question the right of countries to join in collective self-defense with nuclear capability.

On March 13 the United States answered the Secretary-General's inquiry on this matter. It pointed out that both U.S. legislation and policy severely limited U.S. transfer of weapons information to other countries; that U.S. policy opposed the development of national nuclear weapons capability by any additional nation; and that U.S. legislation precluded transfer of ownership or control of such weapons to other states. With respect to the location of nuclear weapons, the United States said that the defense system of this country and its allies included both conventional and nuclear weapons, which existed to support the right, recognized by the U.N. Charter, of individual and collective self-defense. ". . . it is the opinion of the United States," the reply stated, "that, in the present world situation, nations would be willing to accept those specific undertakings which would involve giving up vital elements of their security arrangements only after they can be sure their security is adequately guaranteed by effective disarmament and peacekeeping measures." Consequently, the United States considered it appropriate that the ENDC consider the questions raised by the Swedish resolution.

On April 2 and again on September 10 the Secretary-General sent the replies he had received to his inquiry to the U.N. Disarmament Commission. The question was not, however, on the agenda of the 17th Assembly.



### *Resumption of Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC)*

The ENDC Conference began its third session at Geneva on November 26. At the plenary meetings, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Dean, again urged consideration of certain measures which could offer opportunities for early agreement. On December 12 he submitted a six-point working paper on measures to reduce the risk of war through accident, miscalculation, or failure of communication. He also recommended the establishment of informal technical-military groups to study various methods for implementation of these measures. The measures pinpointed for consideration included advance notification of major military movements to allay fears of aggression; installation of permanent observation posts at strategic locations to guard against clandestine mobilization; additional observation arrangements; exchange of military missions; establishment of direct communications links between major capitals; and the establishment of an international commission to study other aspects of the problem such as the effects of modern weapons and techniques of warfare on the risk of war. There was no discussion of these measures during the third session.

When the session recessed on December 20 there was still disagreement in basic substantive areas. The unresolved issues centered chiefly on the measures that could safely and reasonably be accomplished in Stage I of a disarmament program, the problem of verification of a disarmament agreement, the problem of the establishment of effective peacekeeping machinery and the question of timing for the completion of all disarmament measures.

### **Negotiations for a Nuclear Test Ban Agreement**

The Subcommittee of the ENDC met during the interval between the second and third ENDC sessions and continued to meet until the end of the third session on December 20 with fruitless results. At the November 13 meeting, the Soviets informally suggested employing unmanned seismic stations as a supplement to existing national detection stations. They pointed out that the use of unmanned stations had been suggested at the 10th Pugwash Conference, a gathering of Soviet and Western scientists held in London in early September 1962.

The Soviet Union turned this suggestion into a formal proposal at the plenary meeting of December 10, stating that it was prepared to agree to the establishment of two or three such unmanned stations in each country possessing nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union also



indicated that it would permit international personnel to visit such stations for periodic replacement of the sealed recording apparatus. However, the Soviets conditioned their proposal on the abandonment by the West of its insistence on international supervision of control posts and obligatory on-site inspection of unidentified events.

These conditions were unacceptable to the Western Powers. Although willing to explore the usefulness of unmanned seismic stations as an additional element of an international control system, they did not believe that these stations alone would be able to resolve all doubts as to the identity of seismic events, and indicated that the Pugwash scientists had not made such a claim. Additionally, the United States noted that at least two of the stations proposed by the Soviet Union were not located in optimum areas and would provide little useful information.

The eight nations and Canada made new efforts at the plenary sessions to achieve a compromise accord. Sweden proposed the establishment of an interim international scientific commission to study and make recommendations on test ban control problems prior to final agreement on a comprehensive treaty. Sweden also recommended that concomitant with this activity by the commission, an interim arrangement suspending all underground tests should be effected. Included as part of this interim arrangement would be provisions for the commission to detect and identify seismic events and to carry out on-site inspection if required. There was considerable discussion regarding the methods by which such on-site inspection could be carried out under an interim arrangement of this kind.

India, referring again to the eight-nation joint memorandum (see page 8), suggested that it be implemented at least for an agreed, limited period. The Indian Representative suggested that under the terms of this provisional agreement the proposed international commission could request states to issue invitations to make inspections of unidentified seismic events within an agreed quota and for a given period of time. Any breach of this provisional agreement would free other countries from their obligation to honor it.

The United States announced that it would study further the Swedish proposal and noted that the November 6 General Assembly resolution had linked the conclusion of an interim agreement to the need of adequate assurances for effective detection and identification. At the same time, the United States reiterated its refusal to accept any uncontrolled moratorium on underground tests. The Soviet Union, for its part, made clear that it would not accept an interim arrangement with effective verification provisions.

In a report to the President of the U.N. General Assembly on December 7, submitted on behalf of the Conference in accordance with the November 6 General Assembly resolution, the permanent cochairmen of the ENDC indicated that no agreement had been reached in the negotiations.

### *Kennedy-Khrushchev Correspondence*

On December 19 Premier Khrushchev advised President Kennedy that the Soviet Union was now prepared to accept two to three on-site inspections per year on Soviet territory. Stating that there could be three unmanned seismic stations on Soviet territory, he suggested specific locations but left this question open for further negotiation. President Kennedy, responding to Premier Khrushchev's letter on December 28, 1962, indicated he was encouraged by the Soviet Union's acceptance of "the principle of on-site inspections." Recalling a previous informal U.S. offer to reduce the number of on-site inspections from a figure of 12-20 to one of 8-10 inspections per year, the President expressed the hope that the Soviet Union "would match this motion on the part of the United States by an equivalent motion in the figure of two or three on-site inspections." He also indicated that, from the standpoint of increasing the capabilities of a verification system, the three proposed unmanned seismic stations on Soviet territory were not sufficient, nor were the Soviet-suggested locations optimum. The President suggested that a representative of the Soviet Union meet with William C. Foster, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, to discuss these problems. In his reply of January 7, 1963, Premier Khrushchev reiterated the Soviet position in large part, but agreed to the suggested talks.

### *Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament*

In 1962 the United Nations completed what may be called the first major stage of its studies on the economic and social consequences of disarmament. It received and considered a report on the economic and social consequences of disarmament in countries with different economic systems and at different stages of economic development. The report was prepared early in the year by a group of experts called the Consultative Group, appointed by the late Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, in accordance with a 15th General Assembly resolution. The report was considered by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the 17th General Assembly, and some of the Specialized Agencies and regional commissions.

The Consultative Group's Report, divided into eight chapters and supplemented by a volume of studies submitted by various countries and Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, dealt with such problems as the peaceful use of resources released by disarmament, the impact of disarmament on national production and employment, the impact of disarmament on international economic relations, and the effects of disarmament on the volume and framework of aid for economic development.

The members of the Consultative Group reached the unanimous conclusion that "all the problems and difficulties of transition connected with disarmament could be met by appropriate national and international measures. There should thus be no doubt that the diversion to peaceful purposes of the resources now in military use could be accomplished to the benefit of all countries and lead to the improvement of world economic and social conditions. The achievement of general and complete disarmament would be an unqualified blessing to all mankind."

Secretary-General U Thant, in his preface to the Consultative Group's Report, said, "It is a source of profound gratification to me, as I am sure it will be to all Governments, that, on a subject that has until recently been so beset by ideological differences, it has now proved possible for a group of experts drawn from countries with different economic systems and at different stages of economic development to reach unanimous agreement."

### Consultative Group Report

In the preparation of the Consultative Group's Report, the Secretary-General transmitted to all nations that are members of the United Nations or its Specialized Agencies an outline, prepared by the Consultative Group, requesting information on the economic and social consequences of disarmament. The Secretary-General transmitted also the Consultative Group's recommendation that governments of countries whose nationals were among the Group and that bear a major share of the world's arms burden submit an appropriate study for their country.

The U.S. Government cooperated wholeheartedly with the Secretary-General and the Consultative Group. In December 1961, it submitted a volume containing extensive data and analyses related to the outline prepared by the Consultative Group. In early spring 1962 it submitted a comprehensive country study entitled: *The Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament* which incorporated all of the essential information previously submitted, with such correction and



modification as more recent information and the requirements of an integrated and balanced overall analysis suggested.

The U.S. study was prepared by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in consultation with the Department of State and other U.S. Government agencies.

### ECOSOC Consideration

In the ECOSOC discussion on July 12 most countries paid tribute to the Consultative Group's Report. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Philip M. Klutznick, emphasized U.S. dedication to an appropriate disarmament agreement, the capacity of the U.S. economy to adjust to disarmament, and the extent of the U.S. contribution to the Report. On the important question of the use of disarmament-released resources for aid to developing countries, he said, "It is pertinent to reiterate the oft-stated policy of my Government. While we have long recognized that disarmament would present opportunities for enlarged assistance to developing countries we have not permitted that potential to stay us from continually enlarging our unprecedented aid programs." He further stated, "The country's record of performance in the field of aid to these peoples [i.e., developing countries] is our best bond and sincere promise of what more can be done in a world released of heavy burdens of armament and the constant fear of devastating and nuclear warfare."

The ECOSOC discussion was reasonably harmonious, and the United States and the Soviet Union were among the six cosponsors, along with Ethiopia, India, Poland, and Yugoslavia, of a resolution adopted unanimously. The resolution endorses the unanimous conclusions of the Consultative Group that the achievement of general and complete disarmament would be an unqualified blessing, and that all problems of transition connected with disarmament can be met by appropriate national and international measures. It urges member states, particularly those with substantial military programs, to devote further attention to the detailed aspects of the economic and social consequences of disarmament with a view to developing plans and policies to deal with the problems of transition. It also invites the Secretary-General to keep this matter under review and to report to the 36th session of the Council in the summer of 1963 on further studies that might be useful.

### General Assembly Consideration

The harmony which had prevailed in the Consultative Group and at ECOSOC was broken, at least temporarily, in the General Assembly. Initially, the U.S.S.R. attempted to score a propaganda success with



a so-called "Economic Program for Disarmament," which the Soviet Union wanted debated on an urgent basis and in plenary. The United States, in cooperation with other friendly countries, succeeded in having the matter referred to the General Assembly's Economic and Financial (Second) Committee rather than to plenary. In the Second Committee, the U.S.S.R.'s move to gain priority was rebuffed by the developing countries, who wanted priority for discussion of the proposed U.N. Conference on Trade and Development.

The Soviet draft resolution requested the Secretary-General, without waiting for the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament, to hold consultations with the economically underdeveloped countries concerning "the formulation of an international programme of assistance to those countries in overcoming their economic backwardness with the aid of a part of the resources released by general and complete disarmament." In the U.S. Government's view such consultations would have been premature and wasteful of the time and talents of the developing countries. As a counterproposal, the United States drafted a resolution which basically followed the lines of the resolution adopted by ECOSC and obtained the cosponsorship of the Central African Republic, Colombia, Malagasy Republic, Malaya, Mauritania, Turkey, and Venezuela.

After protracted negotiations and in order to restore the unanimity that had marked previous U.N. action on this subject, a compromise draft resolution was introduced, cosponsored by the United States and the U.S.S.R. Passed unanimously by the General Assembly, it endorses the conclusions of the Consultative Group, concurs in the resolution adopted by ECOSOC, and invites the Secretary-General and the governments of developing countries to intensify their efforts to establish projects and development plans, "the implementation of which may be accelerated as part of an economic programme for disarmament at such time as additional resources are released." It further states that pending agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, member states, rather than relax their efforts to assist the developing countries, should accelerate these efforts.

Introducing the text on behalf of the cosponsors, Senator Gordon L. Allott, U.S. Representative to the 17th General Assembly, said:

We stress in this connection that the action requested will not require any country to make a series of development plans based on various guesses as to future available resources. It is clearly illogical to attempt such planning without more precise information. What the program does request is that governments, assisted when they request it by the Secretary General, establish and implement soundly conceived projects and well integrated development plans of national and regional character. Previously, these plans were called for in

General Assembly Resolution 1708 of the 16th session. If the plans are sound and have an order of priorities, it will not be difficult simply to move forward the priority of certain projects at such time as additional resources are released following an agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Such plans are needed whether or not there is disarmament. Their pace can be greatly speeded, however, if resources are released following an agreement on disarmament and consequently my government attaches the greatest importance to achieving such agreement.

What we must agree on now is action which will make disarmament possible. Above all, this requires the type of agreement in which all sides can have full confidence. The reason why peoples consent to large defense expenditures is their great concern for their security and their independence. My country for one will not spend one cent more on its defense than is required by its security and independence. Therefore what is required to make a reality of the dream put forward in the text now presented to you is an agreement that can assure all parties concerned that they may live in peace, without fear and with adequate guarantees that any agreement on disarmament will not be violated.

### Consideration by the Specialized Agencies and Regional Commissions

The Consultative Group's Report was the subject of draft resolutions introduced at meetings of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the International Labor Organization (ILO), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The United States urged these organizations to endorse the Report. It also urged them to cooperate with the Secretary-General in further studies of the matter. The United States regarded independent and unrelated studies on the subject as wasteful.

At the recently held 12th General Conference of UNESCO, Czechoslovakia introduced, with bloc support, a resolution requesting UNESCO to engage in a variety of studies unrelated to those that might be undertaken by the Secretary-General. This resolution was defeated. The Conference passed a resolution, similar to one introduced by the United States and seven other countries, calling upon the Director General of UNESCO to inform the U.N. Secretary-General of the Director General's readiness to supply him with any information or studies within UNESCO's competence that the Secretary-General might require in his consideration of the basic aspects of the economic and social consequences of disarmament. The resolution also authorized the Director General, if he finds it necessary in undertaking such studies as required regarding the consequences of disarmament in the fields of education, science, and culture, to utilize the help of experts from different groups of countries.

A similar resolution was passed by ECE. Due to lack of time the resolution introduced at ILO was not discussed.

## OUTER SPACE

During 1962 activities of the United States were directed toward implementing the U.S.-initiated resolution on outer space which had been adopted in the previous year by the General Assembly. This resolution called upon the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to: (1) study and report on legal problems that might arise in the exploration and use of outer space, (2) report on arrangements to promote international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space, and (3) review reports to be prepared by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and submit recommendations to the General Assembly. In addition, the resolution set forth basic principles to the effect that international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, applies to outer space and celestial bodies, and that outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states in conformity with international law and are not subject to national appropriation. It also requested the U.N. Secretary-General to maintain a public registry of objects launched into orbit or beyond.

### *Space Launch Registration*

In accordance with the General Assembly's 1961 resolution the United States in 1962 established procedures for the semimonthly submission of reports to the Secretary-General on all objects launched into orbit or beyond for the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and for inclusion in the public registry established by the United Nations. This registry was opened by the first U.S. submission on March 5, 1962. The submission covered all objects launched by the United States that were in orbit or beyond as of February 15, 1962. The United States continues to report all of its launches on a semimonthly basis. The Soviet Union on March 24 made its first report for the space registry.

### *First Meeting of Outer Space Committee*

The U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space met twice in 1962, from March 19 to March 29 and from September 10 to September 14. The U.S. delegation was headed on both occasions by Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton. At the March meeting the U.S. Representative opened the debate with a statement of U.S. views on the necessity of international cooperation in the exploration and



use of outer space. He emphasized that ". . . the United States Government regards this meeting as potentially—I stress potentially—one of the truly significant moments in the history of man's search for peace. It is up to us here at this table, and other governments and the scientific communities for which we speak, to do all that we can to translate that potential into fact. . . ." He reviewed developments taking place in space cooperation, some resulting from the Assembly's 1961 resolution and others from bilateral arrangements between the United States and other countries.

The U.S. Representative then outlined a number of areas in which the United States believed international cooperation might be expanded: the exchange of information on international space programs, joint research efforts, the cooperative development of specific space projects, and the extension of the rule of law to outer space. The U.S. Representative pointed out that, although the Committee's primary task was limited to the encouragement and stimulation of international cooperation, this was not a passive function. On the question of space law, he suggested that the Committee build on the foundation laid in the Assembly's 1961 resolution by studying the question of liability for space vehicle accidents and the problems that would arise in the event of space vehicles landing for reasons of distress, or otherwise than as planned, on the territory of other states.

The Representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Morozov, expressed his country's support in principle for international cooperation in outer space. He proposed the establishment of a scientific subcommittee to study concrete questions and called attention to the need to minimize duplication in cooperative space activities. In this connection he emphasized the role of the Committee on Space Research (COSPAR) and of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). The Soviet Representative also suggested the establishment of a second subcommittee to study the legal problems of outer space.

The Committee established two subcommittees of the whole; one to study possible programs of cooperation in the scientific and technical aspects of outer space, and the second, legal problems which might arise in the exploration and use of outer space. These subcommittees were directed to meet in Geneva on May 28.

During his remarks in opening the debate at the March meeting of the Outer Space Committee, the U.S. Representative referred to the proposals for joint cooperation in specific space projects made to Chairman Khrushchev by President Kennedy in his letter of March 7. In that letter the President suggested a number of areas in the exploration of outer space that might form a basis for joint cooperative efforts. Specifically he suggested the joint operation of a weather



satellite system; the maintenance by each country of operational satellite tracking stations in the territory of the other with tracking data to be exchanged; the mapping through the use of satellites of the earth's magnetic field; joint efforts to advance communication by means of satellites; and the pooling of efforts and the exchange of knowledge in the field of space medicine. The President indicated that the United States was also prepared to discuss with the Soviet Union broad cooperation in other challenging areas of space exploration.

On March 21 the Soviet Representative read to the Committee Chairman Khrushchev's reply to President Kennedy's letter in which the former agreed to discussions on joint cooperation in space projects. On the basis of this exchange of letters, and concurrently with the final meetings of the Committee in March, Dr. Hugh Dryden, Deputy Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and A. A. Blagonravov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, held exploratory meetings in New York from March 27 to March 30. They met again in Geneva from May 29 to June 7 concurrently with the meeting of the Committee's Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, to identify areas on which they could concentrate their attention in later talks.

At the March meeting of the Committee, the U.S. Representative also invited members of the Committee to visit Cape Canaveral in order to tour U.S. space launch facilities and to participate in briefings on its programs. Pursuant to this invitation, a 1-day visit to Cape Canaveral was arranged for April 10. Representatives of the Soviet Union and Albania refrained from participating in the visit.

### Scientific and Technical Subcommittee

In conformity with the directive of the full Committee, the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee met in Geneva on May 28. The U.S. delegation was headed by Dr. Homer Newell, Associate Administrator of NASA. Dr. Newell expressed the view that the role of the United Nations in outer space should be one of "facilitating, encouraging, and supporting, wherever possible and desirable, international cooperation in space activities." The Subcommittee adopted recommendations for the promotion of international cooperation under three general headings: (1) exchange of information; (2) encouragement of international programs; and, (3) international equatorial sounding rocket launch facilities.

With respect to the exchange of information, the Subcommittee urged: (a) that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

compile and organize information that might be provided on a voluntary basis relating to national, regional, and international programs of peaceful research and exploration, and to governmental and non-governmental bodies active in the outer space field, this information to be made available to member states; (b) that COSPAR, UNESCO, and other appropriate international bodies be invited to make available to member states documents on technical requirements for establishing small-scale facilities for satellite tracking, telemetry research, and sounding rocket launchings, and on other sources of useful technical information.

With regard to encouragement of international programs, the Subcommittee recommended that the Committee note with approval the action taken by the ICSU in establishing a new program in scientific cooperation during the period of minimum solar activity (1964-65)—to be known as the International Year of the Quiet Sun—and called upon the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), other interested U.N. Specialized Agencies, and member states to give wholehearted and effective support to this program. The Subcommittee urged also that the Committee note with approval the establishment by ICSU of a worldwide magnetic survey program, and that it call upon all Specialized Agencies and member states to participate in this program “in any way appropriate to their function and capability.” The Subcommittee further noted that COSPAR had established a scientific working group for synoptic rocket and polar cap experiments and recommended that the Committee urge member states to call these activities to the attention of their scientific communities.

The Subcommittee reviewed reports prepared by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), in compliance with the 16th General Assembly resolution, and recommended that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space draw these reports to the attention of member states. It recommended that the Committee encourage member states and Specialized Agencies to develop and extend communications systems in various parts of the world so that all states, regardless of the level of their economic and scientific development, would be able to benefit from space communications. As concerns the WMO report, the Subcommittee recommended that the Committee invite all member states to study carefully the programs and suggestions put forward by WMO and that the Committee call upon member states and Specialized Agencies to take the necessary steps to support improvement

of the worldwide system for the distribution of meteorological information in anticipation of the availability of meteorological data from satellites.

The Subcommittee also urged that the Committee encourage and support the efforts of UNESCO to assist member states in the training of scientists and technicians, and through the exchange and loan of scientific equipment, help to establish, extend, and modernize geophysical and astronomical observatories in areas where a scientific need may exist.

The Subcommittee emphasized the scientific value of sounding rocket experiments and urged that a sounding rocket launch facility be established on the geomagnetic equator as a first step in creating and using international sounding rocket facilities under U.N. sponsorship. The Subcommittee noted that such facilities, freely available to all member states, would promote international cooperation in space activities and provide opportunities for peaceful scientific and technical research. It recommended a number of "basic principles" for the operation of a sounding rocket launch facility under U.N. sponsorship.

### **Legal Subcommittee**

The Legal Subcommittee also convened in Geneva on May 28. However, in contrast to the cooperative atmosphere that prevailed in the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, the Legal Subcommittee's deliberations resulted in no agreement on any concrete proposals. The Soviet Union tabled a "Draft Declaration of Basic Principles Governing the Activities of States Pertaining to the Exploration and Use of Outer Space." This proposal included a number of provisions unacceptable to the United States. It would, for example, seek to ban certain types of observation from outer space. It would also call for consultation and agreement in advance in connection with experiments conducted by one state that might be held to impede the activities in outer space of other states. As the provision was drafted, it would, in effect, have introduced the idea of the veto in the outer space field. Another objectionable provision in the Soviet draft would limit the exploration and use of outer space to national states, i.e., governments. This appeared to be directed at the proposed U.S. Satellite Communications Corporation and at multilateral European space research organizations.

The U.S. Representative on the Legal Subcommittee, Leonard Meeker, Deputy Legal Adviser of the Department of State, commenting on the Soviet proposed declaration of legal principles, pointed



out, *inter alia*, that international law imposes no prohibitions on observation of the earth from outer space, and that such observation is peaceful in character and in no way interferes with other activities on earth or in space. He made clear the impossibility of agreeing to a veto on outer space activities and emphasized that the instrumentalities chosen by states to conduct outer space programs were clearly for the state or states in question to determine.

The Soviet Union also presented a draft "International Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts and Space Ships Making Emergency Landings." This proposal was unacceptable to the United States because, like the Soviet Draft Declaration of Basic Principles, it attempted to cast doubt on the legitimacy of observation from outer space and included a provision under which space vehicles and personnel would not be returned to the launching state unless the launching had been announced in advance.

The United States introduced a proposal in the form of a General Assembly draft resolution dealing with the problem of the rescue and return of space vehicles and personnel which might be the subject of accident or experience conditions of distress, or which might land otherwise than as planned in territories outside the jurisdiction of the launching state. This proposal commended to states for their guidance the principles that all possible assistance should be rendered to the personnel of such space vehicles; that space vehicles and personnel should be returned safely and promptly to the launching state; and that any expenses incurred in the lending of assistance should be borne by the state, or states, or international organizations responsible for the launching.

A second U.S. proposal called for the establishment by the Secretary-General of an advisory panel of legal experts to prepare a draft international agreement on the liability of states for injury, loss, or damage caused by space vehicles. Despite the fact that a majority in the Legal Subcommittee wanted to proceed on this subject, the Soviet delegation insisted that consideration of the problem of liability proceed concurrently with agreement on its Draft Declaration of Basic Principles and that the subject of rescue and return be dealt with in the form of an international agreement, rather than a General Assembly resolution as proposed by the United States. The United States held that disagreement over the matter of legal principles should not stand in the way of discussion and possible agreement on the more urgent practical problem of liability for space vehicle accidents.

None of the proposals introduced at the meetings of the Legal Subcommittee was pressed to a vote.



### *Second Meeting of Outer Space Committee*

The Outer Space Committee met in New York on September 10 to consider the reports of the two Subcommittees and reports prepared in response to the Assembly's 1961 resolution by WMO and ITU. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis Plimpton, urged that the Committee endorse the recommendations of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee for international cooperation in space activities and observed that adequate consideration of these recommendations would occupy the Committee fully during the 5 days allotted to the meeting. The U.S. Representative in his remarks to the Committee discussed the failure of the Legal Subcommittee to reach agreement and placed the responsibility for this failure on the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, however, again introduced the proposals it had tabled at the Geneva meeting of the Legal Subcommittee and asked that the Committee act on them. The United States then tabled its proposals on liability for space vehicle accidents and on the rescue and return of space vehicles and personnel. Following acrimonious debate in which the Soviet Union endeavored to make the case that "misuse" of outer space for military purposes by the United States made the adoption of a legal code to govern space activities imperative, agreement was reached on the submission to the General Assembly of a report in which the Committee:

1. Agreed to compile, organize in the most useful way, and make available to member states information which may be provided on a voluntary basis relating to national, regional, and international programs of space research and exploration.
2. Approved the recommendations for international cooperation made by the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee.
3. Noted the reports of WMO and ITU and urged member states to develop, extend, and approve communications systems and systems for the distribution of meteorological data so as to benefit from developments in space communications and space meteorology.
4. Recommended that support be given to the efforts of UNESCO to provide assistance to member states in space science and technology.
5. Expressed the belief that U.N. sponsorship of a sounding rocket facility would further international collaboration in space research and requested member states to consider the possibility of establishing such a facility, or facilities, on the geomagnetic equator.
6. Forwarded to the General Assembly for its consideration five draft proposals on legal questions (which included a "code" for outer space activities tabled by the United Arab Republic, as well as those

proposals advanced in the Legal Subcommittee by the United States and the Soviet Union).

7. Noted that the United States and the Soviet Union had provided reports on space launchings (see page 34) as called for under the Assembly's 1961 resolution.

### *U.N. General Assembly Consideration*

The General Assembly's Political and Security Committee began its consideration of the Report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space on December 3. The U.S. Representative, Senator Albert Gore, opened the debate with a major address outlining U.S. space policy. After reviewing the history of our leadership in sponsoring international cooperation in outer space, he stated that:

. . . it is the policy of the United States to bring to a halt the testing of nuclear weapons in outer space. In addition to proposing a comprehensive treaty banning all nuclear weapons tests in all environments with only that amount of international inspection necessary to ensure compliance, the United States has also offered a treaty banning testing underwater, in the atmosphere, and in outer space with no international inspection. Thus, the testing of nuclear devices in space can be banned, at any hour the Soviet Union agrees to do so. A reasonable treaty is on the desk. . . .

The United States has no intention of placing weapons of mass destruction in orbit unless compelled to do so by actions of the Soviet Union, the U.S. Representative affirmed. He noted that the draft outline of basic provisions of a treaty for general and complete disarmament proposed by the United States at the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference (ENDC) in Geneva included a provision against the placing of such weapons in orbit during the first stage of the disarmament process. He urged that the Soviet Union refrain from taking steps which would extend the arms race into outer space.

The U.S. Representative said it was a keystone of U.S. policy that its space program be as open and as cooperative as possible. He noted that the United States had, at the 12th General Assembly, first proposed a U.N. role in the cooperative and peaceful development of outer space and since that time had initiated or supported all proposals introduced in the United Nations for international cooperation in the space field.

The U.S. Representative emphasized that the United States wished to take part in a truly universal system of space communications and a truly universal system of weather reporting and forecasting, both using satellites in outer space.

In conclusion the U.S. Representative stated:

. . . United States policy in outer space is:

- to be guided by the general principles already laid down by the United Nations for the establishment of a regime of law in outer space and to negotiate an extension of those principles by international agreement;

- to conclude a treaty banning immediately the testing of any more nuclear weapons in outer space;

- to preclude the placing in orbit of weapons of mass destruction;

- to take all reasonable and practical steps, including consultation with the world scientific community, to avoid space experiments with possibly harmful effects;

- to conduct a program which is as open as our security needs will permit and as cooperative as others are willing to make it;

- to press forward with the establishment of an integrated global satellite communication system for commercial needs and a cooperative weather satellite system, both with broad international participation. . . .

The United States introduced in the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee a resolution which called upon the Assembly to endorse the recommendations of the U.N. Space Committee for international cooperation in scientific and technical programs of space research (see page 286).

The resolution recommended that WMO, in consultation with other U.N. agencies and with governmental and nongovernmental organizations, develop an expanded program to strengthen meteorological services and research, with particular emphasis on the use of meteorological satellites and on training and education in these fields. It invited the International Council of Scientific Unions, a private grouping of national scientific bodies, to assist in the development of an expanded program of atmospheric science research to complement and extend the programs to be developed by WMO. The resolution further called upon U.N. member states to strengthen their weather forecasting services.

In the field of space communications, the resolution directed attention to the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference to be convened by ITU in October of 1963. The resolution emphasized the importance of ample allocations of radio frequencies for outer space needs.

Following discussions with other delegations, the United States agreed to add to this draft resolution a section treating legal problems. The effect of the addition was to request the U.N. Space Committee to continue urgently its work on legal questions, giving equal consideration to the subjects of: (1) legal principles to govern the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space; (2) liability for space vehicle accidents; (3) assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles; and, (4) other legal problems.



The resolution referred to the Committee for use as a basis for its work, proposals made during the debate including the two drafts presented by the Soviet Union, the two proposals introduced by the United States, the proposal introduced by the United Arab Republic, a draft declaration of basic principles submitted by the United Kingdom, and a draft "Declaration of Principles Relating to the Exploration and Use of Outer Space" submitted by the United States during the debate.

The resolution as amended was unanimously adopted by the Political and Security Committee on December 11 and by the General Assembly on December 14.

On December 5 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Stevenson, and Ambassador Zorin, the Soviet Representative, in a joint letter informed the U.N. Secretary-General of the agreement for cooperation in outer space activities reached by the United States and the Soviet Union. In the field of meteorology, the two nations will coordinate the launching of meteorological satellites. They will cooperate in the compilation of a map of the earth's magnetic field with the aid of satellites, and in space telecommunication experiments using the U.S. passive reflector satellite, ECHO II. Consideration is also to be given to future joint experiments using active repeater satellites. Finally, the agreement provides for further discussions looking toward the working out with other countries of a project for experimental global communications via satellites.

## COLONIAL ITEMS

### *Committee of Seventeen*

The Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, usually referred to as the Committee of 17, was established in 1961 by the 16th General Assembly "to examine the application of the Declaration, to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration, and to report to the General Assembly at its Seventeenth session."

On January 23, 1962, the President of the General Assembly nominated the following countries to be members of the Committee: Australia, Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Italy, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Poland, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.



The Committee held its first meeting on February 20, 1962, and continued with only brief interruptions until September 19, 1962.

The Committee's first meetings were devoted to a discussion of its methods of work and procedures. The U.S. Representative suggested that, after drawing together all of the materials and information relevant to its task, and particularly drawing on the experience of member states who had made the transition to independence, the Committee should address itself particularly to the problem of finding solutions to the various types of colonial situations that exist in the world and should develop suggestions and recommendations applicable thereto. The U.S. Representative maintained that the Committee should aim at achieving agreement without voting.

On March 1 Chairman Jha summed up the views of the members of the Committee on its work and procedures:

1. The Committee should follow the rules laid down in the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly. All members of the Committee would attempt to conduct the Committee's work in such a way that the Committee would be able to reach agreement without need for voting, it being understood, however, that voting would be resorted to when any member felt that it was necessary.

2. Information relevant to the task of the Committee should be collected and prepared by the Secretariat.

3. Oral petitioners and written petitions could be heard and received at the Committee's discretion but not as a matter of course.

4. The Committee would, if necessary, consider the sending out of individual groups, while recognizing the limitations to this procedure and the need for securing the cooperation of the Administering Powers concerned.

5. The Committee would give priority to African territories.

6. The chairman was authorized to get into touch with other U.N. committees concerned with colonial questions to insure the necessary cooperation between them and the Committee of 17.

On March 5 the Committee established a Subcommittee on Petitions to examine written petitions and requests for oral hearings and to submit suitable recommendations for adoption by the full Committee. The chairman of the Committee named representatives of the following countries to serve on the Subcommittee: Australia, Ethiopia (chairman), India, Malagasy Republic, Poland, Tunisia, and Venezuela (vice chairman).

The 16th General Assembly resolution which established the Committee of 17 also authorized it to meet elsewhere than at U.N. Headquarters, whenever and wherever such meetings might be required for

the effective discharge of its functions, in consultation with the appropriate authorities. Availing itself of this provision, the Committee accepted invitations from the Governments of Morocco, Ethiopia, and Tanganyika to hold meetings in Tangier, Addis Ababa, and Dar-es-Salaam, respectively, for a period of 3 weeks beginning in Tangier on May 21. Robert O. Blake served as U.S. Representative on the Committee during its meetings in Africa.

Between February 20, when it began its work, and September 19, when it adopted its report, the Committee took action with respect to the following 12 territories: Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, U.K. High Commission Territories (Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland), Zanzibar, Mozambique, British Guiana, South-West Africa, Kenya, and Angola.

### Southern Rhodesia

On March 29, 1962, the Committee accepted an invitation extended by the United Kingdom for a group of its members to visit London to discuss Southern Rhodesia and the work of the Committee with Representatives of the British Government. The chairman nominated representatives of the following countries to constitute the Subcommittee on Southern Rhodesia: India, Mali, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, and Venezuela. The Subcommittee visited London from April 7 to 14, meeting with Representatives of the British Government including the Foreign Secretary, the Home Secretary who has special responsibility for Central African Affairs, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and the Cabinet Secretary. On May 11 the Committee of 17 endorsed the recommendation of the Subcommittee that, in view of the grave and potentially explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia, and in the absence of favorable developments, the situation in Southern Rhodesia should be considered by the General Assembly at its resumed 16th session or at a special session as a matter of urgency. The Committee also approved a draft resolution which it recommended to the General Assembly for consideration. This draft resolution, *inter alia* declares "that the Territory of Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory in the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations" and requested the United Kingdom "to take immediate steps to set aside the Constitution of 6 December, 1961, and to call a fresh constitutional conference without delay in which there shall be full participation of representatives of African political parties. . . ." The Representatives of Australia, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States expressed reservations about the foregoing decisions and recommendations of the Committee.

(For a description of action on Southern Rhodesia taken by the resumed sessions of the 16th General Assembly which met in the spring of 1962 and the 17th General Assembly which met in the fall of 1962, see page 64.)

### Northern Rhodesia

Following discussions on Northern Rhodesia in the Committee, the chairman appointed Ethiopia, India, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., the United States, and Venezuela as a Subcommittee to draft the summary of the views expressed on Northern Rhodesia and to work out a common draft resolution. The Subcommittee adopted its report on May 14 by a vote of 7 in favor and 1 (U.S.) against. A U.S.-substitute draft containing conclusions and recommendations was rejected by the Subcommittee, but went forward to the full Committee of 17 as a minority report. The majority report was adopted by the full Committee (except Malagasy Republic which was absent) on May 16 by a vote of 12 to 4 (Australia, Italy, U.K., U.S.).

This report recommended to the General Assembly, "as a matter of urgency, the fixing of a date for the independence of Northern Rhodesia in accordance with the wishes of the indigenous population" and included a draft resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly. This draft resolution, *inter alia*, noted with regret that the United Kingdom had not yet taken immediate steps to transfer all powers to the people of Northern Rhodesia; confirmed the inalienable right of the people of Northern Rhodesia to self-determination and national independence; and supported the demand of the African political parties for immediate independence. The draft resolution concluded that the Constitution of February 28, 1962, did not conform to the Colonialism Declaration and was discriminatory and prejudicial to the interests of the people, and that the inclusion of Northern Rhodesia in the Central African Federation was imposed contrary to the wishes of the majority of the people. It requested the United Kingdom to take immediate steps to transfer power to the people of Northern Rhodesia in accordance with universal suffrage and to repeal all laws and regulations which sanction any policy or practice based on racial discrimination. Finally, the draft resolution affirmed that the territorial integrity of Northern Rhodesia should be respected.

The minority report proposed by the United States: (a) recognized that the new Constitution represented an improvement over its predecessor but fell short of the final aims of the Colonialism Declaration; (b) stated that the Committee was impressed by the high sense of responsibility shown by the African political leaders of Northern Rhodesia, and noted that the United Kingdom had announced meas-



ures to meet the conditions posed by these leaders for their participation in the elections; (c) expressed the view that it was essential that there be no outside interference in the orderly conduct of the elections; (d) expressed the opinion that any continuing association between Northern Rhodesia and neighboring territories should be founded on the freely given support of the majority of the people concerned; (e) expressed the view that Northern Rhodesia's territorial integrity should be preserved; and (f) noted the progress made in eliminating racial discrimination and expressed the view that strenuous efforts must be made to press forward vigorously for the prompt abolition of all forms of racial discrimination. Australia, Italy, and the United States voted in favor of the minority report; 11 voted against it; India and the United Kingdom abstained; Malagasy Republic was absent.

### Nyasaland

On June 7 the Committee of 17 adopted "conclusions and recommendations" regarding Nyasaland by a vote of 11 to 1 (U.K.), with 3 (Australia, Italy, U.S.) abstentions; Malagasy Republic and Uruguay were absent. By this action, the Committee: (a) noted that the basic demand of the Nyasaland political parties was immediate independence and that they had accepted the present Constitution only as an interim and compromise measure; (b) affirmed the inalienable right of the people of Nyasaland to self-determination and national independence and supported their demand for the dissolution of the Federation with Rhodesia and for the granting of complete independence; (c) noted with regret that the United Kingdom had not yet taken steps toward the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration; (d) welcomed the decision of Dr. Hastings Banda and the U.K. Government to hold constitutional talks and expressed the hope that these talks would lead to the establishment of a date for independence; and (e) requested the U.N. Secretary-General to transmit the foregoing conclusions and recommendations to the United Kingdom and urged that Government to implement them.

The U.S. Representative expressed agreement that the people of Nyasaland had an undeniable right to independence and to decide whether the country is to belong to any federation or association. He stated that he was happy to note that responsible ministers in the United Kingdom had made it clear that they shared this view. He noted that most of the delegations present had expressed satisfaction with recent political advances in Nyasaland, and asserted that the situation in that country illustrated the advantages of rapid, peaceful, political development. The United States, he said, shared the hope



expressed in the conclusions and recommendations that the scheduled constitutional talks would lead to rapid advancement in the direction desired by Dr. Banda and the people of Nyasaland. The U.S. Representative, however, considered it unfortunate that the Committee's report on Nyasaland tended to emphasize the negative aspects and gave little recognition to the rapid and positive constitutional development which had taken place in Nyasaland.

#### **U.K. High Commission Territories (Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland)**

Also on June 7 the Committee of 17 adopted a resolution on the U.K. High Commission Territories (Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland) which, *inter alia*, recommended that the General Assembly: (a) reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland to self-determination and independence; (b) invite the United Kingdom to abrogate the present constitutional provisions, hold new elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage, and convene immediately a constitutional conference with a view to setting a date, in accordance with the wishes of the people, for independence; (c) make a serious effort to provide economic, financial, and technical assistance to the territories; (d) urge the Administering Authority to take immediate steps to return to the indigenous inhabitants all the land taken from them; and (e) declare solemnly that any attempt to annex the three territories or to encroach upon their territorial integrity would be regarded by the United Nations as an act of aggression in violation of the Charter. This resolution was adopted by the Committee by a vote of 12 in favor and 4 (Australia, Italy, U.K., and U.S.) opposed; Uruguay was absent.

#### **Zanzibar**

During its session in Dar-es-Salaam, the Committee of 17 adopted on June 8, an "appeal" which noted that the Committee had been informed that many political prisoners were still being arbitrarily held in custody in the prisons of Zanzibar and appealed to the United Kingdom to release all the political prisoners and end the state of emergency in that territory. Eleven members of the committee voted in favor of this "appeal"; the United Kingdom voted against it; Malagasy Republic and Uruguay were absent. Australia, Italy, and the United States did not participate in the voting since the "appeal" had been tabled and voted on the same day, thus not allowing sufficient time for due consideration.

On September 11 the Committee adopted, without objection, a resolution for action by the General Assembly. This resolution would have the General Assembly, *inter alia*: (a) note the political achievements of the people of Zanzibar and the declared policy of the Administering Power with respect to the independence of Zanzibar; (b) request the United Kingdom to take immediate steps for the implementation in Zanzibar of the Colonialism Declaration and for the holding of elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage; (c) appeal to the people of Zanzibar to achieve national unity; and (d) request the Administering Power to make every effort, including promotion of harmony and unity among the Zanzibar political elements, to bring that territory into independence at the earliest date.

### **Mozambique**

On August 10 the Committee of 17 adopted a resolution on Mozambique for consideration by the General Assembly. Twelve members of the Committee voted in favor of it, 4 (Australia, Italy, U.K., and U.S.) voted against, and 1 (Uruguay) was absent. The resolution, *inter alia* solemnly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Mozambique to self-determination and independence; deeply deprecated the repressive measures against the people and the denial to them of human rights; called upon Portugal to desist from armed action and repressive measures; urged Portugal to release political prisoners, lift the ban on political parties, and undertake extensive political, economic, and social measures for Mozambique; requested member states to deny Portugal any support or assistance which might be used for the suppression of the people of Mozambique and, in particular, to terminate the supply of arms to Portugal; reminded Portugal that its continued nonimplementation of the Assembly's resolutions was inconsistent with U.N. membership; and requested the Security Council to take appropriate measures, including sanctions, to secure Portugal's compliance with this resolution.

### **British Guiana**

The Committee of 17 on July 30 adopted without objection a resolution the operative portion of which requested the Governments of the United Kingdom and British Guiana to resume negotiations immediately with a view to reaching agreement on the date of independence for British Guiana, in accordance with the wishes of the people of British Guiana as expressed by their parliament.

### South-West Africa

On September 18 the Committee of 17 adopted without a vote "conclusions and recommendations" on the mandated territory of South-West Africa which generally endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee for South-West Africa. (See part III, South-West Africa, page 344.) The Committee further expressed its belief that the time had come for the United Nations to take urgent, positive action, including the possibility of sanctions against South Africa, to prevent the annexation of the territory by South Africa and to insure the emergence of South-West Africa into independence at the earliest date in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the people.

### Kenya

The same day the Committee adopted without a vote a draft resolution for consideration by the General Assembly which, *inter alia*, affirmed the validity of the Colonialism Declaration with respect to Kenya; urged the Administering Power to make all efforts for the holding of national elections without further delay on the basis of universal adult suffrage; requested the United Kingdom and all concerned to make all efforts, including the promotion of harmony and unity among the people of Kenya, to bring that territory into independence at the earliest date; and expressed the hope that Kenya would become an independent and sovereign state and join the community of nations in the shortest possible time.

### Angola

With 13 members voting in favor, 3 (Australia, U.K., and U.S.) opposed, and 1 (Italy) abstaining, the Committee also on September 18 adopted a draft resolution on Angola for consideration by the General Assembly. This resolution contained paragraphs "resolutely condemning the mass extermination of the population of Angola"; condemning the colonial war pursued by Portugal and demanding that it cease immediately; requesting all member states to deny Portugal any support which could be used for the suppression of the Angolan people and to terminate the supply of arms to Portugal; reminding Portugal that continued noncompliance with U.N. resolutions was inconsistent with its U.N. membership; and requesting the Security Council to take appropriate measures, including sanctions, to secure Portugal's compliance.



### Other Dependent Areas

In addition to oral and written petitions relating to the above territories, the Committee received miscellaneous petitions and heard various oral petitioners concerning other dependent areas, including Singapore, Malta, Aden, Bermuda, Sarawak, Jamaica, North Borneo, and Brunei. Of these probably the most significant were the oral hearings accorded to two groups of petitioners from Singapore who spoke, respectively, for and against the proposed Malaysian Federation (Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei, and North Borneo). The group opposing Malaysia claimed to represent 19 opposition members of the Singapore Legislature and five political parties. Speaking in support of the Malaysian Federation were the Prime Minister and Finance Minister of the Government of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew and Mr. Goh Keng Swee, respectively. Mr. Lee said in part that the Government of Singapore was fully entitled to enter Malaysia which was the inevitable and logical consequence of the liquidation of colonialism. The Committee took no further action regarding Singapore or Malaysia.

### Action by the Seventeenth General Assembly

The agenda item, "The Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; Report of the Special Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 1654 (XVI)," was allocated directly to the plenary.

In his speech before the General Assembly plenary, Jonathan B. Bingham reaffirmed the policy of the United States to work both outside and within the United Nations to further the universal application of the principle of self-determination. The U.S. Representative pointed to the achievement of independence by eight new nations in the past year and contrasted this with the fact that none of the foreign lands dominated by the new Communist imperialism had achieved freedom. He referred to the historical record of Soviet colonialism as described in detail by the United States during the 16th General Assembly. He asserted that while the Soviet Union would claim that Communist domination of peoples is not colonialism, the United States believes that colonialism or imperialism exists where there is no freedom of choice, including Communist dominated lands inhabited by peoples of different cultural background, different language, and different race from their masters.

With respect to the Committee of 17, the U.S. Representative regretted that the Committee did not approach its task along the procedural lines which the United States had envisaged for it, and particularly that the Committee had failed in most cases to reach agreement without voting. He asserted that for this unfortunate result the Soviet Union was primarily to blame since its delegation showed itself more interested in attempting to put certain member states in an adverse position and in pursuing self-serving political objectives than it did in arriving at a meaningful consensus which would have had a greater effect in advancing the welfare and freedom of the peoples of the territories. The U.S. Representative described the tactics of the Soviet delegation which consistently brought the "cold war" into the work of the Committee. He mentioned unwise procedures followed by the Committee, e.g., the hearing of unrepresentative petitioners, and instances where it did not act as responsibly as desirable, for example, the Zanzibar "appeal" which was introduced and voted on the same day. The U.S. Representative expressed doubt that the Committee's visit to Africa represented the best possible use of the very considerable expenditure of funds that it entailed. He asserted, however, that the Committee could play a useful and constructive role in speeding the process of decolonization, especially if the deficiencies noted in the past can be corrected in the future.

On December 17 the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the future of the Committee. The resolution was approved by 101 U.N. members, including the United States. None opposed it; 4 (France, South Africa, Spain, and U.K.) abstained; Portugal did not participate in the voting. This resolution, *inter alia*: (a) took note with approval of the methods and procedures of the Committee of 17; (b) reiterated and reaffirmed previous resolutions on the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration; (c) deplored the refusal of certain Administering Powers to cooperate with the Committee; (d) called upon the Administering Powers to cease armed action and repressive measures against colonial peoples; (e) urged all Administering Powers to take immediate steps for the accession of colonial territories and peoples to independence without delay; (f) decided to enlarge the membership of the Committee by the addition of seven new members to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly; (g) invited the enlarged Committee to continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the total application of the Colonialism Declaration, to propose specific measures to this end, to submit a report to the General Assembly no later than its 18th session containing suggestions and recommendations, and to apprise the Security Council of any developments in colonial territories which might

threaten international peace and security; (h) requested all member states to give the Committee their fullest cooperation; and (i) requested the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Committee with the necessary facilities and personnel.

As originally drafted, the resolution contained two provisions which the United States found objectionable. The first of these was a preambular paragraph reading as follows: "Considering that, in order to accelerate the process of decolonization, it is necessary to fix an appropriate time limit for the full implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." The second was a portion of an operative paragraph which called on the Committee to propose specific measures for the application of the Colonialism Declaration "including recommendations concerning the fixing of an appropriate time-limit." The United States requested a separate vote on each of these provisions with a view to their elimination. The request for a separate vote on the objectionable preambular paragraph was approved by a vote of 50 (U.S.) to 47, with 7 abstentions. When voted upon, this paragraph received 53 affirmative votes, 40 negative votes, and 13 abstentions; having failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority, it was excluded from the resolution. The U.S. request for a separate vote on the portion of the operative paragraph which it found objectionable was approved by a vote of 51 (U.S.) to 47, with 6 abstentions. When voted upon, this paragraph was also excluded from the resolution having failed to receive the requisite two-thirds approval. The vote was 55 to 38, with 13 abstentions. Tunisia requested a separate vote on the operative paragraph providing for the enlargement of the Committee by seven members. This request was denied when 38 members, including the United States, voted in favor of it, 46 voted in opposition and 21 abstained; accordingly, this paragraph was retained in the resolution.

The General Assembly took no action with respect to Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, Mozambique, or Angola under the agenda item dealing with the Committee of 17, action on these territories having been taken under separate agenda items. (See pages 64, 343, 54, 58.)

The resolution recommended by the Committee of 17 on Kenya was adopted by the General Assembly on December 17 by a vote of 88 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions, and the resolution on Zanzibar was adopted by a vote of 84 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions.

A motion by the U.K. Representative suggesting that the resolution on Northern Rhodesia recommended by the Committee not be pressed to a vote in the Assembly since it was out of date was approved by a vote of 26 (U.S.) to 4, with 25 abstentions.



On December 18 the Assembly adopted a resolution noting the Committee's conclusions and recommendations concerning Nyasaland as well as the Nyasaland constitutional talks which had taken place in London the previous month and expressing the hope that Nyasaland would achieve independence without delay. The vote on this resolution was 54 to 0, with 6 (U.S.) abstentions.

By a vote of 42 to 2, with 12 abstentions, the Assembly also adopted a resolution on December 18 containing the essential elements of the resolution on the High Commission Territories which the Committee of 17 had approved on June 7.

The General Assembly took no action with respect to the consideration of British Guiana by the Committee of 17.

### *Territories Under Portuguese Administration*

At its 16th session the General Assembly established a Special Committee of seven members to examine available information concerning territories under Portuguese administration and to formulate recommendations for the consideration by the General Assembly and other U.N. bodies to assist in the implementation of the Declaration on Colonialism. The Committee elected Zenon Rossides (Cyprus), chairman; Achkar Marof (Guinea), vice chairman; and H. O. Wijegoonawardena (Ceylon), rapporteur. It agreed that the following areas were "Territories under Portuguese Administration": (a) the Cape Verde Archipelago; (b) Guinea, called "Portuguese Guinea"; (c) São Tomé and Príncipe, and their dependencies; (d) Angola, including the enclave of Cabinda; (e) Mozambique; (f) Macau and dependencies; (g) Timor and dependencies.

The Committee officially requested the cooperation of Portugal and asked it what cooperation it was prepared to offer. The Committee particularly wanted cooperation in visiting the territories under Portuguese administration. Portugal replied that it did not accept the General Assembly's interpretation of chapter XI and article 73 of the Charter (which is concerned with non-self-governing territories) as applying to its territories, an interpretation basic to the terms of reference of the Committee, and could only view the Committee's request in that light.

The Committee, which devoted most of its time to discussion of Africa, heard four petitioners at the United Nations, and almost 100 others during 30 meetings which it held while visiting eight African countries. The Committee was not able to visit the territories them-

selves since Portugal refused permission. The Committee also examined written information on Portuguese territories made available to it by various petitioners and material prepared by the U.N. Secretariat.

The Committee's report was completed on August 15, 1962. It dealt with political conditions; administrative and judicial organization; economic, social, and educational conditions; and the reforms introduced by the Portuguese Government in its territories in September 1961. The report contained 48 paragraphs of "observations, conclusions and recommendations" on all aspects of Portuguese territories. In addition to recommending sweeping economic, social, and educational reforms, the Committee's main points were:

1. That there was still time for a peaceful solution to the problems of the territories, although "this situation cannot be maintained for long";
2. That the Assembly should adopt measures aimed at a "complete embargo on further sales and supplies" of military equipment to Portugal, mainly by NATO members;
3. That Portugal should immediately begin talks with "accredited representatives of the political groups existing inside or outside the Territories"; and
4. That the Assembly should adopt "such appropriate measures as would ensure the compliance by Portugal" with the U.N. Charter and appropriate General Assembly resolutions.

The report of the Special Committee was considered during the 17th General Assembly by the Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories (Fourth) Committee at 25 meetings. Ten petitioners were heard and over 60 delegations participated in the debate. During the debate the Soviet bloc and several African delegations devoted considerable attention to the question of Portugal's use of so-called NATO-supplied arms in Angola and other Portuguese-administered territories in Africa. On November 29th U.S. Representative, Jonathan B. Bingham, replied to various statements that had been made with regard to the use of American-manufactured arms by Portugal in its African territories. He said:

First of all, I should like to emphasize once again that in 1961 the United States Government, on hearing reports that certain equipment—for the most part transport vehicles—furnished to Portugal by the United States under our military assistance agreement in the framework of NATO had been diverted to Africa, promptly called this to the attention of the Government of Portugal and requested and received assurance that such material would not be diverted to Africa in the future.

When assurances of such a character are made to us by a sovereign state with which we maintain friendly relations, we accept them as having been made in good faith, unless we have evidence to the contrary of a compelling character. Up to the present time, we have seen no such evidence.

. . . . .

Clearly, it is impossible to control all arms transactions taking place through private channels. In the summer of 1961 the United States Government undertook measures to prevent the commercial export of arms to the area. But large amounts of arms manufactured in the United States have been available on the international surplus market since World War II. (This is true, for example, of napalm bombs, as well as many other items.) Such arms and equipment can find their way into almost any area in the world. Thus, we have had repeated reports that United States-manufactured arms—land mines, for example—have been used by the forces of the Angolan National Liberation Front fighting in Angola.

. . . . .

We regret that the Special Committee on Portuguese Territories apparently concluded that the Portuguese Government was not abiding by its 1961 assurances to the United States Government and that it could not be relied on to do so. We cannot agree with this conclusion. Moreover, we have not been able to find in the information released by the Committee specific evidence to support it. . . .

On December 10 a draft resolution was submitted by 30 African and Asian states, plus Jamaica; 12 additional African and Asian states subsequently joined as sponsors. Under terms of the draft resolution the General Assembly would:

1. Approve the Report of the Special Committee and invite Portugal to give effect to the Report's recommendations;
2. Request the Committee of Twenty-four (on decolonization) to give a high priority to consideration of Portuguese territories;
3. Earnestly request all states "to refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the populations of the territories under Portuguese administration and for this purpose to take all measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government"; and
4. Request the Security Council "in case the Portuguese Government should refuse to apply the present resolution and the former resolutions of the General Assembly, to take all appropriate measures to secure the compliance of Portugal with its obligations as a Member State."

There was considerable debate on the operative paragraph referring to prohibitions on the sale or supply of military equipment. The U.S.



Representative pointed out that the last clause of the paragraph was tantamount to a complete arms embargo. The Representatives of Guinea and Ghana, speaking on behalf of the sponsors, said they interpreted the paragraph as requesting cessation of only that military assistance which might be used by Portugal for the repression of the peoples of Portuguese territories. However, they stated that the sponsors, while maintaining this interpretation as the only one possible, would not change the original wording of this paragraph in order to meet the suggestions of the United States and other member states which believed the wording did not accurately express the meaning which the sponsors said they attached to it.

As a result of the differences over the operative paragraph on arms, Italy submitted an amendment on December 14 which would have substituted the following wording: "Earnestly requests all States to refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese administration and to take effective measures to ensure that any arms and military equipment sold or supplied to the Portuguese Government will not be used for this purpose." The Soviet Representative then submitted a counteramendment conforming more closely to his interpretation of the second half of the original operative paragraph and reading as follows: "and for this purpose to take all measures in order to establish a complete embargo on further sales and supplies of weapons and military equipment to the Government of Portugal; further requests the countries concerned to see to it that such armaments already supplied are no longer used in Angola and other Territories under Portuguese administration."

The Italian amendment was defeated on December 14 by a vote of 30 (U.S.) in favor, 58 opposed, with 9 abstentions. The U.S.S.R. then withdrew its amendment and the resolution as a whole was adopted in Committee by a vote of 78 to 7 (Belgium, France, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, U.K., and U.S.), with 12 abstentions (Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, and Turkey). The Committee also adopted a draft resolution thanking and dissolving the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration. The vote was 84 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions.

On December 14 the General Assembly adopted both resolutions; the first dealing with the Report of the Special Committee was adopted by a vote of 82 to 7 (U.S.), with 13 abstentions; the second dissolving the Special Committee was adopted by a vote of 96 (U.S.) to 2.

*Angola***Resumed Sixteenth General Assembly Consideration**

On January 15, 1962, the General Assembly, resuming its 16th regular session, began debate in plenary on the situation in Angola. Bulgaria and Poland presented the General Assembly with a draft resolution which spoke of "the mass extermination of the native population of Angola," reaffirmed the Angolan people's right of self-determination and independence, and called for an immediate end to the "colonial war pursued by Portugal against them."

The chairman of the Subcommittee on Angola, Ambassador Salamanca of Bolivia, introduced the report of his Subcommittee entitled "The Situation in Angola." This report alleged that a Portuguese policy of frustrating native desires for self-determination, coupled with economic and social privation, caused the Angolan rebellion. It found the Portuguese guilty of harsh and repressive measures in suppression of the revolt and concluded that a threat to international peace and security continued to exist. The report stated that the best hope for a solution lies in Portuguese cooperation with the United Nations. It also noted that "rapid measures by Portugal can still preserve the positive elements of past promises and achievements."

The Portuguese Representative, Ambassador Garin, described the debate on Angola as "unquestionably illegal" and a violation of article 2 of the Charter, which excludes matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state from consideration by the United Nations. He criticized the report of the Subcommittee on Angola, asserted that there was a "bias" against Portugal in the General Assembly, and said that under existing circumstances "constructive debate becomes impossible." At the conclusion of his statement the Portuguese Representative led his delegation from the Assembly hall. They did not return until the Angolan item was completed.

On January 23, 45 Asian and African members submitted a draft resolution affirming the right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence, urging Portugal to take "extensive political, economic and social reforms," requesting the Subcommittee on Angola to report to the Security Council and again to the 17th General Assembly through the Committee of 17 (see page 50) [operative subparagraph 6b], recommending that the Security Council "keep the matter under constant review," and recommending that the Committee of 17 consider the question "with the view to the speedy achievement of independence" [operative paragraph 7].

On January 25 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Stevenson, in his address to the Assembly, asserted that the solution to the Angolan problem must be based on the principle of self-determination for the Angolan people. He said that "the future is full of the possibilities of peaceful and creative cooperation between Portugal and Angola. But those possibilities cannot be realized unless the present relationship gives way to one based on full and voluntary acceptance by all those directly concerned." He added that "it is not the elimination of Portuguese relationships with Angola, or with Africa, that should be our goal. Rather we should strive to create conditions under which the people of Angola, building on the positive elements of the past, can determine their own destiny. . . ."

The U.S. Representative emphasized that "none can or would wish to contest the right of the people of Angola to maintain their struggles to determine their own political destiny. And it would be futile to expect their desires not to be furthered by other means if the franchise is not made progressively available." He then pointed out that the solution to the Angolan problem should be sought through the processes of peaceful policies and peaceful change. It was not too late, the U.S. Representative said, to set these processes in motion and it was a great responsibility on Portugal "and upon those who contend against her . . . to work in good faith" to that end.

On January 30 the General Assembly by a vote of 26 to 43 (U.S.), with 32 abstentions rejected the Polish-Bulgarian resolution.

When the Asian-African resolution came up for a vote, the United States requested that the Assembly allow a separate vote on subparagraph 6b and paragraph 7 of the resolution. The Assembly agreed. Whereupon the United States proposed amending the language in subparagraph 6b and paragraph 7 to delete any reference to the Committee of 17. The United States requested these changes because it believed that the Subcommittee on Angola should report directly to the principal organs of the United Nations and not to the Committee of 17. Neither did it believe that anything was to be gained by proliferating committees concerned with the Angolan problem. The United States objected also to the unqualified use of the word independence in paragraph 7 on the ground that self-determination is a principle of worldwide applicability but that it is not desirable in most cases to prejudge the results of the exercise of self-determination. The U.S.-proposed changes were accomplished. Though the Assembly voted to include reference to the Committee of 17 by a vote of 44 to 37, with 20 abstentions, the reference was eliminated because the required two-thirds majority vote was not obtained. Similarly,



though the Assembly voted 44 to 32, with 26 abstentions, to include paragraph 7, the paragraph was eliminated since the necessary two-thirds majority vote was not obtained. The General Assembly then passed the amended African-Asian resolution by a vote of 99 (U.S.) to 2 (Spain and South Africa), with 1 (France) abstention.

### Seventeenth General Assembly Consideration

The report of the Angola Subcommittee to the 17th General Assembly detailed its efforts to obtain the cooperation of Portugal, described the attempts to pacify Angolans by force of arms, and observed that "without a political settlement responsive to the aspirations of the Angolan people" Portugal will not be able to restore peace and order. The Subcommittee stated "that the United Nations in any further action concerning Angola should call upon the Government of Portugal to take immediate steps to implement the United Nations resolutions relating to Angola, in particular by recognizing the right of self-determination for Angola, terminating its armed action and repressive measures against the Angolan people, releasing all political prisoners by a general amnesty, and entering into *pourparlers* with the Angolan groups concerned with the aim of reaching agreement on the implementation of measures required for the creation of freely elected and representative political institutions with a view to the transfer of power to the people of Angola. The above measures could, if speedily applied, constitute an effective means of securing a peaceful solution."

Representatives of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe addressed themselves to the problem of Angola during the debate on this report in the plenary of the 17th General Assembly. A resolution on Angola was introduced by 10 African and Asian delegations, plus Yugoslavia. The resolution, which followed very closely the resolution on Angola recommended by the Committee of 17 to the General Assembly (see page 50), complimented the Subcommittee for its work, reaffirmed the right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence, and condemned the colonial war pursued by Portugal against the Angolan people. The resolution urged Portugal to release all political prisoners, lift the ban on political parties and undertake extensive political, economic, and social measures. In addition the resolution requested the termination of the supply of arms to Portugal and requested the Security Council "to take appropriate measures, including sanctions, to secure Portugal's compliance" with this resolution.

On December 18, 1962, prior to the vote, Mr. Bingham explained why the United States would have to oppose the draft resolution. He

prefaced his remarks by pointing out that U.S. support for the applicability of the principles of self-determination to Angola and other Portuguese territories was well known to all representatives. He went on to say, however, that the United States would have to oppose the draft resolution primarily because of the call for an arms embargo and because of the call for sanctions.

An Italian request for a separate vote on operative paragraph 7 of the resolution, requesting the Security Council to take "appropriate measures involving sanctions" was rejected by a vote of 25 (U.S.) to 47, with 16 abstentions.

The vote on the resolution as a whole, taken on December 18, 1962, was 57 (Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Malaya, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Rumania, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia), to 14 (Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Turkey, U.K., U.S.), with 18 abstentions (Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Chile, China, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, Greece, Honduras, Ireland, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Thailand, Uruguay).

On December 18 shortly after the General Assembly had adopted the resolution on the situation in Angola, the U.S. Representative, Senator Gore, introduced a draft resolution which :

1. Requested the President of the 17th General Assembly "to appoint two United Nations representatives, one for the purpose of gathering information on Angola, the other for the purpose of gathering information on conditions in Mozambique, in both cases including information on political, economic and social conditions, by visiting those two Territories and other places as they may deem necessary;"

2. Requested the Government of Portugal to extend to the representatives any necessary assistance; and

3. Requested the representatives to report to the 18th General Assembly.

Senator Gore on December 19 explained that the draft resolution was the result of an understanding between the United States and Portugal, which was reached at a very high level. He emphasized "... that it is of the utmost importance that this resolution

not be amended if it is to succeed in its purpose. I say this in full recognition of the fact that many delegations would prefer to see the resolution changed in one way or another—either to incorporate, expressly, references to certain past resolutions of the General Assembly or to substitute a committee or group of representatives for the concept of single representatives.

I can appreciate the reasons delegations might have for such changes, but I want to make it clear that in this case what we have to decide is whether or not it is worthwhile to take the step that is available to us.

The United States believes that it is. . . .

If this resolution is adopted and carried out, it would mean that, for the first time, a United Nations representative would officially visit Angola and Mozambique. This, in the view of my Government, would be a very significant step.

The U.S. Representative went on to say that adoption of the U.S. proposal would not in any way reflect upon the Subcommittee on Angola, the Special Committee on Portuguese Territories, or the Committee of 17. None of these Committees had been permitted by Portugal to visit its territories. Thus, there had been no such thing as a U.N. representative in Mozambique and Angola, except for representatives of the Specialized Agencies.

The Portuguese Representative stated that “without prejudice to the clear position of my Government, that Article 73 is not applicable to our overseas provinces,” Portugal was agreeable to the appointment of the two U.N. representatives. He concluded by stating that his Government’s “purpose in agreeing to support the draft resolution . . . is to have objective, factual and detailed reports of conditions in our overseas provinces, based on evidence and information gathered from within the Territories.”

On December 19 an Afro-Asian group submitted four amendments to the U.S. draft resolution. These amendments would have: (1) referred to the previous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions having relevance to the situation in Angola; (2) increased the number of representatives from two to three; (3) replaced the single representative concept (one for Angola and one for Mozambique) with a Committee approach (all three representatives concerning themselves with both Angola and Mozambique); and (4) required the representatives to report to the Committee of 17 rather than the General Assembly.

On December 20 Mr. Benhima of Morocco, speaking as the representative of the Afro-Asian group, explained the group’s opposition to the U.S. draft resolution in its original form. “The draft resolution introduced by the delegation of the United States is doubtless the



expression of a highly valuable effort. . . . However, it is unfortunate that this effort has not found in its formulation the authentic expression of the good faith and sincerity that animate it." He stated that the amendments proposed by the Afro-Asian group would be necessary in order to place the resolution in the proper context of past U.N. action on the question. After lauding the efforts of the U.S. delegation, Mr. Benhima appealed to the United States to "withdraw its draft resolution so that the only document which the General Assembly might consider in this matter would be the resolution (on Angola) that was adopted a few days ago which I believe in the view of everyone is sufficiently explicit and is one reflecting completely the general opinion on the problem of territories under Portuguese administration."

Speaking for the United States, Mr. Bingham said:

We have believed that the adoption of this resolution would have represented a significant event for the people of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese territories. True, it would have been only a first step, and there was no assurance as to what the second step might have been. But we had hoped that the implementation of this resolution, which in our view could in no way have contributed to a deterioration of the situation, would have led to additional constructive developments.

As the delegates well know, my Government has consistently supported the principle of self-determination for the peoples of the Portuguese territories. We will continue to work for peaceful solutions to the problems of Angola and the other territories. To the many distinguished delegates who have so willingly given their earnest and sympathetic consideration to our proposal, I wish to express the thanks of my delegation. We fully recognize the extent of their efforts and we are grateful for the public and private expressions of appreciation for our efforts and particularly for the words of appreciation so eloquently expressed just now by the distinguished representative of Morocco.

We believe that our resolution offered an opportunity to bring us closer to a rational solution of a very real problem and thereby closer to justice. It is, therefore, with great regret that we have been advised of the decision taken by the Afro-Asian group. Under the circumstances, my delegation has no choice but to respond affirmatively to the appeal made by the distinguished representative of Morocco. My delegation will not press for a vote on the resolution.

Mr. Benhima expressed, on behalf of the whole Afro-Asian group, "our thanks and gratification to the delegation of the United States for having heeded our appeal and for having given consideration to our request, in a particularly sensitive field for our group."

The Representative of Guinea, Mr. Diallo, noted with approval that the U.S. delegation had been consulting with the African representatives on this resolution for the past 2 months. He congratulated the United States for its approach to the problem and particularly for having accepted the African appeal not to press the U.S. resolution to a vote.

The Portuguese Representative stated that the proposal made by the United States would have enabled the Assembly "to obtain objective, factual and detailed reports on political, economic and social conditions in Angola and Mozambique, based on evidence and information gathered from within the territories." He stated that it was a matter of sincere regret to his delegation that the "firm disposition of my government to give full cooperation to the representatives of the United Nations for the proposition envisaged in the draft resolution of the United States has not been availed of."

### *Southern Rhodesia*

On February 23, 1962, the resumed session of the 16th General Assembly adopted by a vote of 57 to 21 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions, a resolution the operative portion of which called upon the Special Committee on The Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Committee of 17) "to consider whether the territory of Southern Rhodesia has attained a full measure of self-government." This resolution had been tabled at the 16th General Assembly in December 1961 but had been held over until the resumed session.

The intent of this resolution which was sponsored by Burma, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Morocco, Philippines, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia appeared to involve having the Committee of 17 find that Southern Rhodesia was a non-self-governing territory with the result that it would be placed within the context of colonialism in the United Nations.

As a result of action taken by the Committee of 17 pursuant to this resolution (see page 45), the question of Southern Rhodesia was included on the agenda of the June resumed session of the 16th General Assembly. The General Assembly's General Committee recommendation to inscribe the item was approved by the plenary on June 12 by a vote of 62 to 26 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions. The United States opposed inscription largely on the grounds of timing. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Stevenson, stated that while the United States did not oppose consideration of Southern Rhodesia by the General Assembly, there was no need to discuss the question before the 17th session which would meet in the fall of 1962 since the United Kingdom had officially announced that the Southern Rhodesian elections scheduled for October 1962 and whose proximity caused strong pressures for immediate consideration in the U.N. General Assembly, would be postponed until later, probably early in 1963.

On June 28 the resumed 16th General Assembly adopted a resolution which, *inter alia*, affirmed "that the Territory of Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations"; and requested the United Kingdom "to undertake urgently the convening of a constitutional conference, in which there shall be full participation of representatives of all political parties, for the purpose of formulating a constitution for Southern Rhodesia, in place of the Constitution of 6 December 1961, which would ensure the rights of the majority of the people, on the basis of 'one man, one vote.'" The resolution also requested the United Kingdom to remove restrictions on the exercise of free political activity in Southern Rhodesia and to grant amnesty to and to release immediately all political prisoners. Seventy-three countries voted in favor of the resolution, 1 (South Africa) voted against, and 27, including the United States, abstained; Portugal and the United Kingdom did not participate.

In a statement prior to this vote, the U.S. Representative, Jonathan Bingham, explained that we had four objectives for Southern Rhodesia:

1. A progressive liberalization of the franchise with a view to early attainment of the objective of universal adult suffrage and the emergence of a Government for Southern Rhodesia which would derive its powers from the consent of all the governed.

2. Further and faster progress toward the elimination of racial discrimination.

3. Peaceful and mutually beneficial relations between Southern Rhodesia and its neighbors on the condition that any continuing association between Southern Rhodesia and neighboring territories should be founded on the freely given support of the majority of the people concerned.

4. Continuation by the United Kingdom, for the present, of its special concern for Southern Rhodesia and the use of its influence to achieve the foregoing objectives.

The U.S. Representative explained that while the United States shared the concern and general objectives of the resolution's cosponsors, he did not believe that the draft resolution would be helpful in achieving these aims.

Since the resolution adopted in February 1962 requested the Committee of 17 to report to the 17th General Assembly on Southern Rhodesia, the matter was included on the agenda of that session as a separate item: "Question of Southern Rhodesia."



On September 20, 1962, the Southern Rhodesian Government banned the colony's leading African nationalist party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and imposed restrictions against its leaders. This action had the effect of focusing the General Assembly's attention on Southern Rhodesia early in the 17th session. Accordingly, on October 8 the General Assembly's Committee on Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories (the Fourth Committee) addressed itself specifically to the measures which the Southern Rhodesian Government had taken. A resolution was adopted by a vote of 68 to 2, with 12 (U.S.) abstentions. It expressed deep concern "with the deplorable, critical and explosive situation obtaining in Southern Rhodesia as a result of the state of emergency, the banning of ZAPU, and the arrests and detention of nationalist leaders, a situation which constitutes a denial of political rights and endangers peace and security in Africa and the world at large." The resolution urged the United Kingdom to take measures urgently to secure the release of the nationalist leaders and the lifting of the ban on ZAPU. When the resolution came before the plenary on October 12, 83 countries voted in favor of it, 2 countries voted against it (Portugal and South Africa), and 11 countries abstained (Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, Turkey, and the U.S.). The United Kingdom did not participate in the voting in either the Fourth Committee or the plenary.

In a statement on Southern Rhodesia made in the Fourth Committee on October 26, the U.S. Representative, Jonathan Bingham, reaffirmed the U.S. objectives for Southern Rhodesia enunciated during the June resumed session (see page 65). He added that the overriding need in Southern Rhodesia was mutual confidence among the various communities concerned. "It is the lack of confidence," the U.S. Representative asserted, "which is poisoning the atmosphere and is mainly responsible for a deteriorating situation." He expressed the opinion that the Southern Rhodesian Africans feared that, once the 1961 Constitution came into effect, the white minority would simply assume all powers and declare Southern Rhodesia's independence from the United Kingdom. He also expressed the opinion that this fear was not based on substantial evidence and that the United Kingdom would not allow such an event to take place. The U.S. Representative recalled the statement made the previous day by the U.K. Representative in which he cited the British Government's "deep feelings of concern for the welfare of all the people of Southern Rhodesia," and in which he stated that, "No decisions have been reached and circumstances have not arisen which could give rise

to any further changes in the constitutional relationship between the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesia." The U.S. Representative asserted that, "The very fact that [the U.K. Representative] so emphatically denied any claim that Southern Rhodesia is either sovereign or independent was also an indication that the United Kingdom recognizes a kind of ultimate responsibility for Southern Rhodesia which will not be cut off by the 1961 Constitution." Speaking of the franchise, the U.S. Representative declared that in order to allay the fears of the Africans, it was not sufficient for the Europeans to persuade them that there was no thought of junking the 1961 Constitution and seizing full independence, nor was it enough for the Europeans to point out that under the 1961 Constitution the African community itself would have to agree to any narrowing of the franchise. "The simple fact," he stressed, "is that in today's world the tempo of advance contemplated under the 1961 Constitution appears too slow." He expressed the fear that a vicious circle seemed to have been set in motion in which repression produced violent reactions, and violence induced even greater repression, and that the danger was that this cycle would become irreversible. In order to reverse the trend toward one of mutual confidence it seemed to the United States that "the time has arrived when some third party, some outside agency, is needed to help the various groups in Southern Rhodesia allay the deepening fears and mistrusts."

The U.S. Representative stated that while it was difficult to judge the consequences of pressing ahead with the new Constitution and the elections, he was struck by the widely held opinion in many responsible quarters that such a course might only intensify the difficulties.

He concluded by declaring that the United States would support a resolution which would urge the United Kingdom to continue to use its special influence toward the progressive liberalization of the franchise and which would appeal to all concerned to eschew force, violence, and intimidation, and to devote their best efforts to a rapid, peaceful, and orderly achievement of a political future for Southern Rhodesia in which all elements of the population would play a full and free role.

On October 27, 1962, the Government of Southern Rhodesia announced that the Legislative Assembly would be dissolved effective November 1 and new elections would be held on December 14. The effect of this action was to bring fully into force the Southern Rhodesian Constitution of December 6, 1961. In light of this development, 51 African and Asian U.N. members introduced a resolution in the

Fourth Committee which stated that "the attempt to impose the Constitution of 6 December 1961, which has been rejected and is being vehemently opposed by most of the political parties and the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia and to hold elections under it will aggravate the existing explosive situation in that Territory." The resolution reaffirmed the Assembly's resolution of June 28, 1962, and again requested the United Kingdom to suspend the December 6, 1961, Constitution and convene a conference to formulate a new Southern Rhodesian constitution. The resolution requested the Secretary-General "to lend his good offices to promote conciliation among the various sections of the population of Southern Rhodesia by initiating prompt discussions with the United Kingdom and other parties concerned with a view to achieving the objectives set out in this and all the other resolutions" on Southern Rhodesia and to report to the current session and to the Committee of 17. The 51-power resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee on October 31 by a vote of 81 to 2, with 17 (U.S.) abstentions. The resolution was approved by the General Assembly on the same day, by a vote of 81 to 2, with 19 (U.S.) abstentions. The United Kingdom did not participate in the voting in the Fourth Committee or in the plenary.

On December 19 the Representative of the United Kingdom replied to the Secretary-General's communications concerning the implementation of the October 31 resolution with respect to his good offices mandate. The British Representative stated that the United Kingdom had not yet found it possible to discuss the matter with the new Southern Rhodesian Government which had resulted from the December 14 elections but that the change of government in Southern Rhodesia did not affect the constitutional relationship existing between the British Government and the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

## PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

### *Congo*

#### **Summary**

U.S. interests were significantly advanced through participation in the United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC) in 1962. The United States sought a united, viable Congo directed by a moderate government capable of maintaining internal security and withstanding cold war intrusions. These aims were substantially achieved. Seces-



sionist regimes in the Orientale and Kasai Provinces were brought under the control of the Central Government, extremist elements were removed from the Cabinet, and a modest beginning was made—with U.N. help—in strengthening the Congo's administrative fiber.

These gains were in constant danger of being nullified by Katanga's continued secession. The limited resources of the Central Government were concentrated largely on this issue to the detriment of the economy. A major civil war threatened to erupt momentarily. The United States wished to see the secession issue resolved peacefully—so did the United Nations. Twelve months were spent attempting to win Katangan acceptance of any fair, reasonable proposal for a federal Congo state. Diplomatic persuasion, bilateral talks, and U.N. mediation, including Secretary-General U Thant's Proposal for National Reconciliation, all failed to solve the problem.

As the year drew to a close, growing dissatisfaction in Léopoldville seriously undermined the moderate Government. At Elisabethville, Katangan gendarmerie increasingly threatened U.N. forces. In this crisis, the U.S. President resolutely reaffirmed support of U.N. reintegration efforts and ordered the immediate dispatch of the equipment needed to reinforce U.N. troops. The U.N. Secretary-General with equal resoluteness upheld the U.N. mandate to preserve the Congo's territorial integrity, prevent civil war, and remove foreign military personnel.

The crisis was resolved in a sharp, short, conflict provoked by Katangan attacks. The United Nations quashed the rebellious gendarmerie and established the freedom of movement in Katanga necessary to implement its mandate. The secession was over. The Congo could now turn to the task of reconstruction.

### Peacekeeping: National Unity

*Efforts To Implement Kitona Accord.* During the early months of 1962 the United Nations and the United States encouraged the Congolese to resolve the Katanga secession issue through implementation of the Kitona Accord. This was an Agreement signed by Premier Adoula and Katanga President Tshombe on December 21, 1961. It contained eight points whereby Tshombe: (1) accepted the *Loi Fondamentale* [Provisional Constitution], (2) recognized the indissoluble unity of the Congo, (3) pledged the return of Katangan representatives to parliament, (4) recognized Kasa-Vubu as Chief of State, (5) agreed to Katanga's participating in the redrafting of the constitution, (6) recognized the authority of the Central Government

over all the Congo, (7) placed the Katangan army under the Chief of State, and (8) assured his respect for U.N. resolutions.

The signature of the Agreement was followed by 2 months of intricate political maneuvering and a month of bilateral talks. As soon as Tshombe had left Elisabethville on December 18 to meet Adoula, the United Nations ceased all military operations in Katanga. This truce permitted Tshombe's units to remain in the center of Elisabethville and left him in full control of the Provincial Administration. Upon returning to Elisabethville, Tshombe claimed the Accord was invalid and had to be submitted to the Katanga Provincial Assembly. He conceded none of his self-assumed powers—a separate army, diplomatic service, currency, and tax system. Acceptance of the Accord, in fact, had preserved the *status quo* for him.

Tshombe did take two seemingly encouraging steps toward implementing the Kitona Accord. He sent Katangan parliamentarians and constitutional representatives to Léopoldville as stipulated. The first parliamentarians arrived December 27, 1961. Other responsible Katanga officials, including the President of southern Katanga's ruling CONAKAT Party, arrived in the capital January 3, 1962.

While complying with these aspects of the Accord, Tshombe simultaneously took steps frustrating its main provisions for integration. On December 23, 1961, he ordered a meeting of the Katanga assembly (60 elected members plus 9 Tshombe appointees) to consider the Kitona Accord. President Kasa-Vubu, wishing to promote the participation of some 25 Baluba representatives who had not attended since Katanga's secession, declared that the Provincial assembly should meet at Kamina in western Katanga. Tshombe, despite his agreement at Kitona to recognize the authority of the Central Government, convoked the assembly in Elisabethville on January 3, 1962. There was no quorum. It met again January 4 achieving a quorum through the presence of Tshombe's appointees.

Tshombe informed the assembly that he approved six of the eight points of the Kitona Accord but took exception to the *Loi Fondamentale* and to U.N. resolutions. These were the two basic points of the Kitona Accord. It was implementation of these provisions that would restore Katanga to the Congo. The Katanga assembly immediately referred the Accord to a specially created 15-man Commission for Foreign and Political Affairs. The Commission adopted a draft report on January 7 which attached major conditions to compliance with the Accord. The draft was not reported out to the assembly since Tshombe said he wished legal advice on its form and presentation.

On January 13 Tshombe asked for a U.N. legal expert to advise on matters of procedure but not of substance of the report. After securing the Central Government's approval, the United Nations sent C. A. Stavropoulos, the Secretary-General's Legal Counsel, to provide the legal advice requested. Beginning on February 3 Mr. Stavropoulos attended seven meetings with Commission members. The Commission's draft proposals, he found, were inconsistent with the provisions of the *Loi Fondamentale*. The Commission then reviewed its draft and presented new comments which were approved by the Katanga assembly on February 15 after some further amendment.

The assembly did not reject the Kitona Accord outright but decided to accept the agreement only "as a potential basis of discussion." It authorized the Katanga regime to open discussions with the Central Government to insure a solution "in the spirit of Kitona." The assembly also urged speedy preparation of a new constitution, recommended several interpretations and changes in the *Loi Fondamentale*, and reserved the right to ratify any agreement reached by the two governments.

Following the Kitona Accord, U.N. representatives pressed Tshombe repeatedly to expel mercenaries from Katanga. Nothing was done. On January 26, 1962, Tshombe finally declared in a letter to the United Nations that he wished to see the problem resolved "once and for all." He requested a month to accomplish the expulsions, promised a list of all mercenaries who had served in Katanga, and proposed creating joint U.N.-Katanga commissions authorized to investigate mercenaries throughout Katanga.

The United Nations accepted the Joint Commission proposal. It was agreed that two groups would be formed immediately and that they would have "access to all places to which they wish to go and will be granted all facilities in the accomplishment of their task for the purpose of inquiry and investigation." The Commissions visited Jadotville and Kipushi on February 9 and Kolwezi and Bunkeya on February 22-23. The Katangese provided limited access to installations and maintained steadfastly that there were no mercenaries in Katanga. The United Nations disagreed. Upon attempting to verify the lists of departed mercenaries presented by Tshombe on January 30 and February 12, the United Nations found little hard information. There were frequent instances of duplication. Many of those mercenaries who had died, or who had left Katanga but later returned were included. Through records of deaths, desertions, and arrests, the United Nations established indisputable cases of mercenary activity. The Joint Commission effort was doomed to failure.



In view of these developments, Premier Adoula on February 16—at the urging of the United Nations and the United States—invited Tshombe to Léopoldville to discuss the application of the Kitona Accord. The United Nations assured Tshombe on February 20 that it would provide all necessary security guarantees for the visit. After further exchanges to insure that these guarantees applied to any threat of arrest or parliamentary action, Tshombe flew to Léopoldville on March 15 in a U.N. plane.

The ensuing talks lasted until April 16. U.N. representatives provided general assistance during the discussions but, at the express wish of the two parties, did not participate in them.

Controversy immediately arose over two points: the negotiating authority of Tshombe's delegation and the applicability of the *Loi Fondamentale*. Tshombe maintained that any decisions had to be confirmed by the Katanga assembly. Adoula argued that Tshombe was dodging his responsibility to implement the Kitona Accord. The Léopoldville delegation held that the *Loi Fondamentale* applied to integration procedures until such time as it was changed by constitutional reform. The Katangese held that the *Loi Fondamentale* was outdated by events and that the delegations should create transitional economic, fiscal, and military arrangements pending development of the new constitution.

The talks reached a stalemate in mid-April. After expressing his intention to resume negotiations on April 21, Adoula left Léopoldville April 17 for a brief political visit to Coquilhatville. Tshombe arranged with the United Nations to visit Elisabethville until Adoula returned. As Tshombe prepared to leave, Léopoldville police officials attempted to arrest him. The U.N. Officer in Charge Robert Gardiner personally intervened to safeguard Tshombe and the Katanga delegation departed next day on a U.N. plane.

Upon returning to Léopoldville, Adoula announced on April 24 his wish to reopen the talks. Tshombe, however, replied that he was unable to return until his health improved. The U.N. Officer in Charge was instructed to attempt to break the stalemate by taking the initiative as a mediator. He discussed the issues with the Central Government, obtaining concrete proposals which he then presented to Tshombe on April 30. These suggested in detail a much more federal division of powers between the Central Government and the provinces than that laid down in the *Loi Fondamentale*.

A week of intensive negotiations followed. The Katanga government presented comments on Adoula's proposals. These concerned primarily maintaining the separate entity of the Katangan gendarmerie under the direct authority of the provincial government, insur-

ing exclusive tax authority (while promising to remit a specific amount—to be negotiated—to Léopoldville), and establishing a transitional relationship to last until agreed constitutional reforms were instituted. Counterproposals followed from the Central Government. The U.N. Representative, in order to encourage agreement, presented a composite draft. This was amended in turn by the Katangese. Though the U.N. Representative was unable to resolve the parties' differences, he achieved a much more precise definition of the issues.

*Renewal of Negotiations: U.N. Participation.* The course of these integration negotiations between the Central Government and the Katangese was closely followed and encouraged by the United States. For many months, the United States discussed the problem of Katangan secession with Congolese leaders, with the European powers most directly concerned, with interested Afro-Asian states, and with U.N. representatives in New York.

These talks showed that there was general agreement on the desirability of negotiated integration and on the usefulness of U.N. involvement in the process. They also raised the question of the proper terms for a reasonable, effective reintegration of the Congo. In order to develop a consensus on the type of agreement that would receive maximum international support, the United States encouraged the most precise possible definition by the interested governments of the appropriate division of federal-local powers in the Congo.

Against this background, the United Nations encouraged the Central Government and Katanga to resume their suspended negotiations. The United Nations again gave Tshombe full guarantees for his delegation's security and he returned to Léopoldville May 18. The two delegations invited U.N. representatives to attend their meetings. Both accepted the position papers and technical documentation prepared by the United Nations. The delegations also approved on May 25 the U.N. suggestion that negotiations proceed on a technical level through the creation of four commissions on military, monetary, economic and fiscal, and transport and communication matters.

Discussions of the terms of reference of the four commissions continued from May 29 to June 26. The United Nations provided draft texts and technical information for the commissions. Agreement was quickly reached May 29 on the mandate of the Military Commission. Discussions faltered, however, on the Monetary Commission. They were also interrupted by Congo Vice Premier Sendwe's threats against Tshombe and by Tshombe's unsubstantiated charge that his forces in northern Katanga had just been attacked by Central Government troops.

The delegations agreed on June 14 to suspend talks on monetary matters and to continue work on the mandates of the two remaining Commissions. The next day they accepted the mandate for the Transport Commission and decided that no commission discussions would start until final accord had been reached on the terms of reference of all the Commissions. By June 22 agreement was reached on both the Monetary and the Economic and Fiscal Commissions' work.

Discussion then turned to general integration issues: a new constitution, organization of a new cabinet, integration of the Katangan gendarmerie, and general amnesty. No agreement could be achieved on these subjects, nor on the necessary final statement on the Commissions' mandates. The Katangan delegation held that the Commissions' work should only be advisory; the Central Government believed their decisions should be binding. Despite all the urgings of U.N. and diplomatic representatives, the negotiations broke down. Tshombe and his delegation left Léopoldville in a U.N. plane June 26. This ended almost 6 continuous months of intensive negotiations for Katangan integration which Tshombe had accepted in principle at Kitona.

*Stalemate.* An agitated 2-month stalemate followed the collapse of the Léopoldville talks. The Central Government first offered Katanga a federal constitution and participation in the cabinet. When these offers failed to break the deadlock, the Central Government attempted to exercise federal powers in Katanga. The Katangan leaders, in the meantime, continued to parry integration proposals and to build up their armed forces. An undeclared civil war smouldered in northern Katanga and tension grew between Katangan and U.N. forces in Elisabethville. Secretary-General U Thant faced the issue firmly. He declared that Congo unity was essential for resolution of the crisis and concluded that if persuasion failed, economic pressures might have to be applied.

The collapse of negotiations at the technical level in the four Commissions revived interest in general principles and the possibility of a constitutional solution. Both parties were agreed that a new constitution should be substituted for the provisional *Loi Fondamentale*. The joint Central Government-Katanga committee established in January under the Kitona Accord had developed a partial draft. At the urging of the United States and of U.N. representatives, renewed attention was given to this subject. On July 28 Premier Adoula announced the principles for a federal constitution which he was prepared to support and requested the assistance of U.N. experts in completing a full draft.



Adoula's proposal envisaged considerable local autonomy. Federal powers were to be limited to those expressly reserved for the Government while all others would belong to the member states. The Government would be responsible for national defense, foreign affairs, customs, exchange control, fiscal policy, foreign and interstate trade, nationality, immigration, postal services, and telecommunications. Each state would maintain local order and direct the administrative, economic, fiscal, and social affairs of its area. The constitution would also provide for a parliament with two chambers. The member states would have equal representation in one while elected political representatives would form the other.

Tshombe welcomed Adoula's proposal warmly. He then suggested on August 7 that a new constitutional committee be created with the Central Government, Katanga, and the United Nations each naming a representative. The United Nations meanwhile had been seeking the experts requested by Adoula. On August 9 it announced that four internationally known jurists from Canada, India, Nigeria, and Switzerland had agreed to assist in drafting a constitution. Despite his expressions of interest in a constitutional formula, Tshombe sent no representatives to Léopoldville. After the arrival of the international jurists, the Central Government invited all provincial groups to submit their views. This request was transmitted to Katanga by the United Nations, but Tshombe did not act upon it until further pressed by U.N. representatives in late September.

The lack of cooperation between Katanga and the Central Government in working out differences through constitutional negotiation was symptomatic of a general deterioration in their relations. One complicating factor was the Central Government's division of Katanga into two approximately equal states. This was promulgated on July 17 after parliamentary approval but without reference to the Katanga provincial assembly. It was the first step in a long-planned division of all the Congo's provincial units to correspond with homogeneous ethnic and political groups, but it ignored the practical situation. Tshombe's forces controlled the southern half of the new, predominantly Baluba state. In addition the Katangan gendarmerie held the northern communication center of Kongolo.

Another problem was the increasing military activity. There were no fixed lines between the Central Government forces and those of Katanga. Patrolling missions often became probes. The Katangan forces, led by mercenaries, were generally the more mobile. They precipitated two clashes, one at Kaseya on July 5 and another at Kitenge on August 22. A Central Government patrol in turn caused

a skirmish by advancing southwards from Albertville on August 16. Although relatively minor militarily, these and other probes involved prestige, provoked propaganda exchanges, and embittered relations.

The continued use of mercenaries by Katanga constituted a further source of friction. The evidence available to U.N. and diplomatic representatives in the Congo indicated that mercenaries not only remained in Katanga but that their number increased throughout the year. By August, when the U.N. Reconciliation Plan was proposed, it was generally estimated that 300-500 mercenaries were serving in Tshombe's forces.

The struggle between the Central Government and Katanga had sharpened also in political and economic fields. Tshombe's parliamentarians in Léopoldville joined the followers of Antoine Gizenga, a radical leader and former vice premier, in opposing Adoula. They even fought the formation of a more moderate government, voting against Adoula's cabinet reshuffle of July 16 which dropped extremist members.

The Central Government meanwhile attempted to exercise limited federal powers over Katanga. On July 17 it asked the Universal Postal Union (UPU) (see page 242) not to recognize Katangan postage. On July 30 Secretary-General U Thant supported the request, noting that no country had recognized Katangan independence. On August 5 the Central Government declared that all clearances for plane flights for Katanga had to be obtained at Léopoldville. The United Nations thereupon ceased its former practice of issuing flight permits at Elisabethville and instead referred requests to the Central Government.

The Katanga regime responded by arresting and expelling passengers arriving from Léopoldville on flights cleared by the Central Government. Also, according to general estimates, the Katangese increased their gendarmerie from about 12,000 to 18,000 men, and added to their small air force.

The suppressed state of conflict was reflected further in growing tension between Katangan and U.N. forces in Elisabethville. The Katanga regime brought 2,000 soldiers into Elisabethville on July 11 for an "independence day" parade despite prior agreement with the United Nations that only an honor guard of several hundred would participate. The United Nations next day established a checkpoint on the entry route used by the gendarmerie. On July 17 this checkpoint was attacked by several thousand Katangese women in what gave every appearance of being an arranged demonstration. A woman and a young boy were killed and the Katanga regime claimed

that they had been shot by U.N. troops. Subsequent evidence indicated that they may have been killed accidentally by the gendarmerie during the Katangan firing that preceded the mob's advance on the checkpoint.

The extent of the stalemate and deepening crisis was fully appreciated by the United Nations. U Thant conferred on possible actions with the Congo Advisory Committee (an advisory body created by the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld and consisting of representatives of states lending forces to the United Nations) and with interested Western Powers, including the United States. Various kinds of graduated economic pressures which might promote Katangan reintegration were discussed. On July 31 U Thant issued a statement, that:

Although there are many contributing causes to this state of affairs, there can be no doubt that the main cause is the continuing attempt at secession by the province of Katanga. Until a satisfactory and constructive solution to this issue is found, it will be very difficult for the Congolese Government to face successfully its responsibilities and problems, or for the United Nations to assist it very effectively. I assure you that no one can be more desirous than I am to see this solution brought about by peaceful means through processes of conciliation and consultation, and the United Nations continues to employ its very best endeavors to this end. Unfortunately, these endeavors so far have not produced fruitful results, and the situation becomes more and more distressing.

I therefore feel impelled to appeal to all member states to use all the influence and exert all the effort which they can bring to bear to achieve a reasonable and peaceful settlement in the Congo. I do not claim that the blame for the abortive talks in the Congo is altogether on one side. But I do assert that secession of any province is no solution for the Congo's ills, that it would serve no interests other than, possibly, those of the mining companies and certain neighbors, and has neither historical nor ethnic justification. I strongly believe that only a unified Congo can give hope for peace and prosperity in Central Africa. In this connection I note with satisfaction the latest proposals of Mr. Adoula for the drafting of a federal-type constitution with the assistance of international experts.

Should persuasion prove ineffective, the Secretary-General concluded, he would ask the member states to consider seriously further measures, having in mind economic pressure which as a last resort could go to the extent of barring all trade and financial relations with Katanga.

*National Reconciliation Plan.* In the weeks following U Thant's declaration, the situation deteriorated further. Conscious of the need for a new initiative, the United States engaged in discussions with interested states and the United Nations seeking a consensus on compromise proposals which might usefully be suggested to Congolese leaders to advance a peaceful solution of the Katangan problem.



During these talks, the main constitutional, fiscal, economic, and military problems were examined.

After considering the proposals which emerged from these discussions, and after holding further consultations with states supporting the U.N. effort, U Thant on August 20 elaborated a Plan for National Reconciliation. Its principal provisions concerned the preparation of a federal constitution, division of tax receipts and foreign exchange, currency unification, military reintegration, a general amnesty, and a broadening of the Central Government to include all provincial groups.

Under the Plan, the Central Government was to develop and present to parliament a draft constitution taking into account the views of all state governments and interested political groups. The constitutional experts furnished by the United Nations, at the Central Government's request would prepare a final draft during the next month. The division of powers would be along the lines proposed by Premier Adoula on July 28.

With the help of U.N. experts, the Central Government was also to prepare a finance act apportioning revenues between the Central and State Governments. Insofar as possible, the financial arrangements would take into account the essential needs of each state and would maximize their share of the revenue originating in their area. Until such a law should come into effect, the Central Government and Katanga would share equally all tax revenue (as had been the practice prior to Katanga's secession) from mining concessions. All foreign exchange earned anywhere in the Congo would immediately be remitted to the National Monetary Council (which serves as the Congo's Federal Reserve Board and is staffed by U.N. personnel) or to an institution named by it. The Central Government also was to request, through the United Nations, experts from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) who would work out a phased program of currency stabilization. The standardization of currency would be effective 10 days after approval of the program by the Central Government.

Military reintegration was to begin with an oath of allegiance to the President of the Congo by military and gendarmerie commanders. With the help of U.N. experts, a commission composed of a Central Government and a Katangan representative would draw up within 30 days a plan for the integration of all forces into national army and national gendarmerie units. This plan would be executed in 60 days.

Conduct of foreign affairs was recognized as a Central Government function and no state was to maintain overseas representation without the Government's consent. The Central Government was expected

to enact a general amnesty while Premier Adoula would reconstitute his cabinet, offering ministries to Tshombe's CONAKAT Party. Finally, all central and state authorities were to cooperate fully with the execution of U.N. resolutions.

The United Nations submitted the Plan first to the Central Government and then to Katangan authorities. The Central Government accepted the Plan on August 23 but reserved its freedom of action if problems arose in the execution of the Plan. The U.N. Representative discussed the Plan with Katangan representatives on August 24 and requested a reply within 10 days. Tshombe replied on September 2 that, although circumstances made the Plan look to him like an ultimatum, Katanga would support it.

Both the Central Government and Tshombe added comments on specific portions of the Plan. Adoula observed that drafting the constitution was primarily the responsibility of the Central Government, that in the division of revenue a fixed amount for the Central Government should be considered as well as the needs of particular areas, and that the amnesty should cover political, not criminal, matters. Tshombe's reply requested a voice in drafting the constitution, asked that U.N. experts come to Elisabethville to study revenue problems, and suggested that all states supporting the Plan guarantee its faithful execution.

The cautious acceptance accorded the Plan by both parties was to be expected of any proposal which constituted a compromise of their basic differences. The United Nations immediately announced that it considered the Plan adopted by both parties and that its representatives would promptly give all possible assistance to its execution. The United States, Britain, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and other interested states added their firm support for the Plan. The United States, in expressing its gratification about the acceptances, emphasized its wish to see the Plan rapidly implemented and its willingness to give the help appropriate to obtaining Congolese unity.

Besides the reconciliation proposals, the Plan included suggestions for specific steps to be taken in order to achieve agreement among the Congolese leaders. The first of four courses of action outlined concerned the method for presenting the Plan and means of encouraging its acceptance by the Congolese. It associated the United Nations and sponsoring states in parallel diplomatic approaches and common expressions of determination to see an early end to Katangan secession. These procedures were followed when the Plan was presented to Adoula and Tshombe. Further to encourage the two parties to accept the Plan, the first phase of action also committed the sponsors to providing certain assurances and benefits. The Katangese were informed

that the United Nations and supporting governments would use all available means to insure that the proposals were applied fairly. They were also assured that the United Nations had, for the time being, no intention of establishing new garrisons in the area and would avoid making low-level reconnaissance flights that might frighten the local population. Tshombe was simultaneously forewarned, however, that the United Nations should have full freedom of movement in Katanga.

The Central Government was promised U.N. assistance in an urgent modernization program for the National Army. As soon as financial controls were established in Léopoldville, the United States undertook to furnish additional financial aid; Belgium and other states would consider similar assistance. In addition, the United States promised to provide a small shipment of military communication equipment and similar supplies. The Central Government agreed for its part both to invite *Union Minière du Haut-Katanga* (UMHK) representatives to Léopoldville for tax discussions and to open negotiations with Belgium on import duties on goods shipped from Belgium to the Congo. These agreements were fulfilled.

The remaining three courses of action outlined measures if there should be delay or rejection of the Plan. In case Tshombe stalled, the Katangan leaders would be warned that all necessary steps would be taken with regard to the Province's trade in order to comply with such mineral export regulations as the Central Government might propose. Should Tshombe reject the Plan, the Central Government would ask all importing states to embargo copper and cobalt coming from Katanga. If these pressures failed, the sponsors would as a fourth stage consult on further measures.

The Plan's acceptance by the Katangese obviated for a time consideration of these enforcement measures. They became increasingly relevant, however, as efforts to implement the Plan bogged down in the following months.

*Implementation Efforts.* The United Nations quickly followed up acceptance of the Plan by detailed implementation proposals which were presented to Premier Adoula and President Tshombe on September 10. These had been worked out in consultation with the governments most directly involved in the Plan. They called for the immediate creation of three commissions composed of Central Government, Katangan, and U.N. representatives which would arrange the execution of the Plan's military, revenue, and foreign exchange proposals. The Central Government would simultaneously proceed with preparing the constitution, financial law and amnesty while Tshombe would close Katanga's missions abroad and have Katangan officers take an oath of allegiance to President Kasa-Vubu.



The Commissions met in mid-September at Elisabethville and set to work immediately. Progress was slow. The two Congolese delegations approached the problem from opposite extremes. The Katangese considered the commissions as a means of negotiating the Plan's provisions while the Central Government believed the principles were already agreed upon and merely required implementation. As the Plan was more an outline than a blueprint, however, there was room for considerable discussion.

The Military Commission, which was to arrange the integration of the National Army and Katangan gendarmerie, met on September 22. After preliminary talks showed little progress, it attempted to break the stalemate by arranging a cease-fire in northern Katanga. This was largely in response to U.N. suggestions. (U Thant had declared September 5 that in view of the acceptance of the Plan there was "no further need for troop movements in Katanga on either side." As part of the implementation proposals, U Thant had also appealed for cessation of troop movements and promised U.N. assistance in supervising a cease-fire.)

The Commission succeeded in reaching a cease-fire agreement on October 16. It provided for observer groups composed of Central Government, Katangan, and U.N. representatives. These groups were to have full freedom of movement in northern Katanga in order to direct the removal of roadblocks, exchange of prisoners, and cessation of troop and supply movements. The cease-fire did not include southern Katanga, from which mercenaries had been flying supplies to Tshombe's forces in the north and bombing Central Government troops. It also did not accord the United Nations the freedom of movement throughout Katanga which Tshombe had been notified was an integral part of the Plan.

The Revenue and Foreign Exchange Commissions met on September 24. They had reached only tentative agreement by mid-October despite the strongest encouragement from U.N. representatives. The Revenue Commission developed a program for centralizing custom procedures and reopening national transport routes. There was no agreement on the division of revenue accruing from customs taxes and the Katangese made no payments on the provisional 50-50 basis specified in the Plan. Tshombe did publicly announce on October 17 that he was crediting \$2 million to the account of the Central Government as an installment but the money was never deposited.

The Exchange Commission followed a similar pattern, agreeing on procedures but not on actual payments. On October 13 and 14 it accepted proposals for consolidating exchange controls in the Monetary Council and for arranging financial transfers. There was no

agreement on the amount of foreign exchange to be retained by the Central Government. When the Katangese refused to begin remitting exchange to the Monetary Council as called for in the Plan, the Commission was stymied.

Implementation of other aspects of the Plan ran into similar difficulties. The draft constitution prepared by the international jurists was submitted to parliament on October 13 by the Central Government. It was not, however, brought up for debate as expected under the Plan. Premier Adoula instead called for discussion of the constitution at a meeting of all provincial governments and political groups in Léopoldville from October 16-23. The Katangan authorities declined to attend. A widely representative group of provincial leaders did participate in the talks, but more interest was shown in the practical administrative questions of taxation, transport, and schooling than in constitutional phraseology. When Tshombe continued to contend that he was ignorant of constitutional developments (despite publication of the draft at the October meeting), the United Nations furnished him a copy on November 15.

Other aspects of the Plan met complete disagreement. Premier Adoula promised safe conduct for Katangan gendarme officers coming to Léopoldville for the oath of allegiance. Tshombe refused to send the officers unless there was a general amnesty. He submitted a draft proposal to the Central Government which would have amnestied mercenaries and freed Antoine Gizenga, and other radical leaders outside Katanga. The Central Government was willing to issue a general amnesty for Katanga but this was unacceptable to Tshombe.

In the field of foreign affairs, the Central Government sent immigration officials to Elisabethville to provide appropriate services for Katangese. The Katangan authorities ignored them and continued to maintain several missions abroad, including an "Information Office" in the United States.

A virtual standstill on the Plan's implementation developed on October 18 when the Central Government disavowed the cease-fire accord achieved by the Military Commission. Katangan failure to execute the clearly defined obligations regarding revenue and foreign exchange in the Plan had aroused strong feeling in parliament and within Adoula's cabinet. The occasional bombing of Central Government troops in northern Katanga by mercenary-flown planes from the south further inflamed the situation. When the cease-fire was found to cover only northern Katanga and to omit reference to U.N. freedom of movement, the Central Government leadership refused to endorse the type of cease-fire agreement worked out earlier by its representative in Elisabethville.

The United Nations and other sponsors of the Plan meanwhile had been exercising diplomatic influence to encourage its implementation. The Plan appeared the best and fairest means to achieve reintegration peacefully. To help promote settlement on these terms, the U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, George McGhee, undertook a 3-week mission in the Congo. He had long talks with Premier Adoula and Katangan President Tshombe which helped achieve some progress during early October. Tshombe was assured at length that the United States was seeking not the destruction of Katanga but rather stability throughout the Congo through the creation of a fair and reasonable federal structure. As a step toward reintegration, radio-telephone communications were reestablished between Léopoldville and Elisabethville. The Katangese reopened the national railroad route and shipped two freight car loads of copper through to Léopoldville. (The Katangese, however, refused to remit to the Monetary Council even the small amount of foreign exchange involved in this shipment.) These small advances were encouraging at the time but they were nullified by the failure of the three commissions to advance on the major issues.

Faced again with a stalemate, the United Nations, the United States and other interested governments, concerted efforts to achieve peaceful integration. The United Nations strongly supported by the United States, sent identical letters to Premier Adoula (November 1) and to Katangan President Tshombe (November 2). These reviewed the two parties' commitments and assessed their respective performances under the Plan. It was noted that the purpose of the Plan was to end the secession and the main burden was on Katanga to give up its separatist attitude.

Premier Adoula replied November 9 reaffirming the Central Government's complete support of the Plan. On November 13 he reviewed the positive steps taken by his Government and offered ministerial posts to Tshombe. The Katangan reply of November 12 cited the reopening of telecommunications and rail traffic as indicative of its cooperativeness and blamed the Central Government for lack of progress on implementation. The United Nations replied to Tshombe on November 16 declaring that if he really wished to end secession Katanga officers should take the oath of allegiance, obligations concerning provisional revenue and exchange should be fulfilled, and U.N. forces should be allowed freedom of movement. The Katangan leaders took no action on these points.

During the remainder of November, the rift between the Central Government and Katanga deepened under the stress of local developments. In Léopoldville, opposition to Premier Adoula strengthened



and almost upset the Government. At Elisabethville, tension mounted between the Katangan regime and the U.N. forces.

The trouble in Léopoldville was compounded of frustration with the Reconciliation Plan, local issues, and domestic politics. Parliament had resumed on November 14 with the election of moderate Chamber and Senate officers. A week later the Government decreed martial law over the capital in a drive against an upsurge of banditry. It also arrested a political leader, Gbenye, for subversion. Many Senators and Deputies feared that the state of emergency would be used either for further arrests or to disband parliament. The radicals then raised a clamor against the Government for "softness" toward Tshombe. Tshombe's representatives and others joined the radicals in organizing a vote of censure. The Government's opponents achieved a narrow majority by a vote of 50 to 47, with 2 abstentions, on November 28 but the Government survived since the censure motion required a two-thirds vote for adoption.

Trouble had been growing in Elisabethville little by little. The Katanga political leaders continually manifested their dislike of the United Nations. The gendarmerie steadily built up military positions around U.N. forces. Patrols, minefields, and roadblocks were used to restrict U.N. movements. An accidental confrontation of opposing patrols at the outskirts of town on September 12 resulted in shooting and two Katangan losses. A U.N. patrol on September 24 suffered two deaths and several men seriously wounded by booby traps in the same area. During November there was continued friction. Tshombe blocked over 1 million dollars' worth of U.N. supplies on the frontier of southern Katanga. Much of these were pillaged by the gendarmerie. In addition the Katangese held five Tunisian soldiers whom they offered to release only if the whole contingent were repatriated. The gendarmerie became more belligerent and harassment grew. In contrast to the fall of 1961, however, the European population remained largely neutral and avoided involvement.

*Collapse of Katangan Secession.* The combination of the Plan's frustration and rising tensions confronted the United Nations and the United States with the "moment of decision" at the end of November. Secretary-General U Thant met it firmly. He recalled the Security Council's mandates to maintain the Congo's territorial integrity, prevent civil war, keep law and order, and remove foreign military personnel. Moreover, in accordance with the Plan, U Thant, acting on the request of the Government of the Congo, asked states importing copper and cobalt from the Congo to refuse to permit such imports.

The United States for its part provided the United Nations with supplies and diplomatic support for its policies. In the face of the political threat to the Government at Léopoldville and the harassment of U.N. forces at Elisabethville, the United States approved a series of internal airlifts in the Congo. These flew heavy U.N. vehicles and supplies into Elisabethville. Simultaneously, the United States consulted with other major supporters of the U Thant Plan. In a joint White House statement on November 27 President Kennedy and Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak reaffirmed their full support of the Plan and declared:

... The United States Government and the Government of Belgium have up to this point directed their efforts toward accomplishment of the Plan along the lines of voluntary discussions and actions of the parties concerned. This approach has not, however, produced the necessary results. If there is not substantial progress within a very short period of time, the United States Government and the Government of Belgium fully realize that it will be necessary to execute further phases under the United Nations Plan which include severe economic measures.

Several governments rallied to the support of the United Nations. Sweden announced November 22 that in response to U Thant's request it was sending four more planes for the U.N. Congo force. Italy responded to a similar request, promising five planes. Iran agreed to supply four planes with full ground crews, and the Philippines pledged six more. The United States undertook to furnish the logistic support and transport necessary for these contingents to reach the Congo promptly.

On December 10, after consultations with the United States and other supporting governments, U Thant notified Tshombe of his deep disappointment that Katanga officials had failed to carry out seriously the provisions of the Plan and that the further steps envisaged in the accompanying course of action paper would be applied. The next day Premier Adoula asked 17 governments to embargo imports of Katangan copper and cobalt. The Secretary-General informed these same states on December 14 that the Central Government's request was fully consistent with the Plan and that he supported it.

At the same time that pressure on Katanga was being increased, the United Nations, the United States, and Belgium made new attempts to achieve a breakthrough on integration. Noting that the UMHK revenue and foreign exchange payments to Katanga were the key to Tshombe's secession, U Thant appealed to Belgium on December 11 to use all possible influence with UMHK to stop such remittances until the problem of their proper division could be settled. Tshombe and the UMHK promptly indicated willingness to have the Monetary

Council at Léopoldville assume control over foreign exchange but on condition that their own needs were first met. The UMHK reportedly was ready to send its representative to Léopoldville. Tshombe, however, felt that Katanga officials should undertake the mission. The UMHK then canceled the departure of its representative.

Before new efforts under the Plan could be organized, a series of incidents broke out in Elisabethville. This precipitated a sharp clash between gendarmerie and U.N. forces.

During the morning of December 24, random fire directed at a U.N. checkpoint sparked general shooting in the area. A U.N. helicopter investigating the incident was disabled by gunfire and its personnel captured and beaten. An Indian officer on board died of wounds. Brigadier Noronha, Indian Commander of the U.N. troops in Elisabethville, assembled a force and recovered the helicopter and crew. His conduct exemplified the highest standard of leadership. He stopped the U.N. troops several hundred yards short of Katangan positions and walked alone up to the gendarmerie, resolving the incident by negotiation.

A similar incident occurred on the afternoon of December 27. This time the firing spread to other areas and continued into the evening. There were no troop movements. The shooting appears to have spread spontaneously, probably from the excitement and nervousness of the Katangan gendarmerie. Mr. Mathu, the U.N. Civil Representative, and General Prem Chand, Indian Commander of U.N. forces in Katanga toured the city with Tshombe. They verified that the firing was coming from Katangan positions and Tshombe agreed to halt it. However, firing did not stop. Next morning it recommenced on a heavier scale and included mortar bombardments. The U.N. representatives and Tshombe made another tour of the city. The shooting was now generalized and seriously threatened the security of the city and U.N. forces.

During the morning of December 28, the United Nations repeatedly pressed Tshombe to stop the shooting and to withdraw the roadblocks and gendarmerie from the outskirts of town. When these demands were not met, the U.N. representatives informed Tshombe their forces would have to push back the gendarmerie if the firing was to be stopped. Tshombe remained unwilling or unable to halt the shooting. The United Nations began to clear the roadblocks and assure its freedom of movement during the afternoon of December 28.

There was almost no fighting in the center of Elisabethville. The gendarmerie on the outskirts of town fired at approaching U.N. forces but withdrew quickly with little resistance. By the end of the next day, December 29, the gendarmerie had been half pushed, half frightened, out of the immediate Elisabethville area.



Mindful of the unfortunate experience of 1961 when a Katangan jet fighter almost immobilized U.N. forces, U.N. planes attacked Katanga airfields and parked aircraft on December 29-30. These Katanga planes had been brought into Katanga in violation of Security Council resolutions and were operated solely by mercenaries. U.N. forces pursuing gendarmerie units entered the town of Kipushi, 25 miles outside Elisabethville, without a fight on December 30 and were welcomed by the local population. Simultaneously, small U.N. units patrolled 10-15 miles out of Elisabethville on the road to Jadotville, removing mines and barricades.

On December 31 there appears to have been what the United Nations has described as a regrettable breakdown in effective, quick communication between the U.N. Secretariat in New York and its forces in the field. Acting within their general instructions, U.N. forces reached the Lufira River a few miles outside Jadotville and—finding a bridge span intact and comparatively little resistance—put a small group across it. Unaware of the troops' position because of delays in servicing classified cables, U.N. Headquarters in New York issued an order to halt at the Lufira. This order was received in the early evening when the troops were under fire and in a vulnerable position. According to the official U.N. report, "the river had already been crossed when the order was received and since night had fallen it would have been risky militarily, and quite possibly costly in lives, to undertake a night withdrawal under mercenaries and gendarmerie fire. Thus, the men holding the bridgehead . . . had either to retreat across the river or move ahead and clean out the sole remaining pocket of resistance. They wisely did the latter.'

On January 3, 1963, the U.N. force entered Jadotville unopposed, with the assistance of the Mayor and local officials. This action in effect marked the end of the Katangan secession.

### **Peacekeeping: Internal Security**

Concurrent with the major 1962 problem of Katanga secession, the United Nations continued to face the remnants of past security problems. Undisciplined rebel troops and delinquent youth massacred churchmen at Kongolo January 1, 1962. Lumumbist leader Antoine Gizenga recreated a radical separatist movement in Stanleyville and provoked a small conflict which the Soviet bloc attempted to exploit. Foreign mercenaries continued serving in the Katangan army, contributing to provincial separation and drift toward civil war. In the absence of adequately trained security forces, local disputes still flared into inter-tribal combats disrupting entire communities.

*Gizenga's Secession.* Antoine Gizenga never fully accepted Adoula's election as Premier by parliament. He attempted to restore his own power by returning to Stanleyville and creating a radical separatist movement. His efforts to organize a new Lumumbist party failed but he gained control over much of the Orientale Province through a private gendarme force.

The Central Government disapproved of Gizenga's separatist activities as much as of Tshombe's. On January 8, 1962, the Chamber of Deputies voted 66-2 that Gizenga should return to Léopoldville. When he refused, parliament voted his censure. On January 13 fighting broke out between Gizenga's gendarmes and National Army forces under General Lundula. After 14 men were killed, Lundula requested U.N. help in disarming Gizenga's troops. With the approval of the Central Government, U.N. forces cooperated in quelling the outbreak. There was no further bloodshed. Gizenga surrendered and was returned to Léopoldville on a U.N. plane.

The prompt action taken by the United Nations proved instrumental not only in maintaining order but in preserving Congolese unity. Gizenga's separatist regime in Stanleyville quickly collapsed, and his own political influence dropped abruptly. Gizenga's party renounced his leadership. The Chamber of Deputies removed his parliamentary immunity and voted 76 to 10 its approval of the Government's handling of the issue. After a period of house arrest at Léopoldville, Gizenga was transferred to an island at the mouth of the Congo River where he remained under detention.

*The Kongolo Massacre.* In late 1961 Antoine Gizenga sent an unruly body of soldiers from his separatist Stanleyville regime into north Katanga to attack Tshombe. Gizenga hoped to seize the initiative from the Central Government and obtain credit for reintegrating the Province. On December 31 his forces entered Kongolo, imprisoning and beating many European and African civilians. Next day, his troops shot 22 priests.

Information on the incident did not leak out until mid-January, 1962. The United Nations had no troops in the area, but it immediately flew a reconnaissance mission, which was fired upon by Gizengist soldiers. A U.N. official nonetheless was flown into Kongolo. With only the help of an interpreter he made a quick survey of the security and emergency relief needs of the area. The United Nations furnished air transport for a relief group and simultaneously urged the Central Government to conduct a thorough investigation. The United States pressed vigorously for this investigation with both U.N. and Central Government officials.

*Bloc Initiatives.* The success of the United Nations in meeting the Congo's successive crises had frustrated several Soviet attempts to

penetrate the country. They had first supported Lumumba only to lose and be ignominiously expelled from the Congo. They then backed Gizenga for Premier and lost again. In an attempt to revive their waning influence, the Soviets tried early in 1962 to send a medical mission to Stanleyville and to call a Security Council meeting to debate issues beneficial to Gizenga. Both of these efforts failed.

The Soviet medical team arrived early in January. It had not been requested by the Central Government and its mission had not been coordinated with U.N. assistance operations. The group immediately pressed for permission to work in Orientale Province. The Central Government, in turn, insisted that the Soviet team work under the direction of the World Health Organization (WHO). The Soviet doctors were then assigned missions in politically uncontroversial areas. After several months, the mission was quietly withdrawn.

Simultaneous with this effort, the Soviet Union on January 26 requested a Security Council meeting, ostensibly to discuss U.N. failure to remove mercenaries by force. (The United Nations was at this moment making every effort to arrange this peacefully. See page 69). The United States believed that such debate would only serve Soviet bloc ends and interrupt the U.N. effort to implement peacefully the Kitona Accord. Premier Adoula held the same view and issued a statement on January 28 protesting the Soviet proposal.

The next day the Lagos Conference of African States strongly supported Adoula's position. The 16 Heads of State at Lagos jointly declared their anxiety at the Soviet initiative and labeled it "unwise and prejudicial to the interests of the Congo." On January 30 the Security Council met in response to the Soviet request and voted to adjourn before adopting the agenda.

The collapse of Gizenga by no means stopped Soviet efforts to gain influence in the Congo. They invited Premier Adoula to Moscow but the offer was declined. Adoula instead visited the United States in February. Soviet propaganda then concentrated on Katangan secession, apparently hoping to undercut moderate Congolese leadership by creating dissatisfaction with its policy of cooperating with the United Nations on a negotiated settlement.

As the months passed without result, discontent did grow both within and without the Central Government. By November, Premier Adoula's leadership had become seriously threatened and strong pressure had built up to act on Soviet bloc hints of bilateral assistance. The combination of increased U.S. support for the United Nations and the decisive events of late December, however, nipped a growing opportunity for Soviet penetration in the Congo.



*Tribal Problem.* The U.N. forces throughout the Congo continually faced the threat of sudden violence erupting from age-old tribal antagonisms. Incidents could be sparked by politics, personal quarrels, or even rumors. Particularly in the Kasai and Kivu Provinces, the United Nations provided continuing, unpublicized, local security services. Its forces patrolled wide areas, assisted in the arrest of malfasants, provided asylum, faced down angry mobs, and in many areas was the backbone for all the police protection available.

In Elisabethville a particularly difficult problem was created by the Baluba minority which had originally been brought in from the Kasai Province and north Katanga to work in the mines. In August 1961 many of the Baluba sought U.N. protection from harassment by Tshombe's police. By the end of 1961 there were between 50,000 and 70,000 Baluba and other minority elements in the U.N. refugee camp, constituting a continuing security problem.

Upon finding that many village areas in Kasai Province and north Katanga would accept the refugees, the United Nations undertook the repatriation of the whole camp. Between the beginning of May and the end of July, over 71,000 were moved out by air or train. Only 280 elected to settle in Elisabethville. On August 1 control of the camp area was transferred to Katanga authorities, resolving a major local security problem.

### U.S. Logistic Support to UNOC

In 1962 the United States continued to provide the greatest share of the logistic support to the United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC). During the year it airlifted a total of 17,000 troops and 2,000 tons of cargo and sealifted 19,413 troops with cargo. From July 1960 through December 1962 the United States airlifted a total of 63,000 troops and 11,300 tons of cargo in over 1,800 sorties. The total number of personnel sealifted was 33,000.

For the past 2½ years the United States has also provided UNOC with a variety of material ranging from mosquito netting to air-planes. The material provided included twin-engined air transports, helicopters, vehicles, ammunition, foodstuffs, communication equipment, and various kinds of replacement parts.

A military survey group, after visiting the Congo in late December 1962, made several recommendations primarily directed toward the improvement of the logistic capacity and the mobility of UNOC forces. These recommendations, which were implemented, included: the provision and airlifting by the United States to the Congo of 30 trucks weighing 2½ tons each, 6 armored personnel carriers, a portable air-

craft fuel facility, and the assignment on a continuing basis of U.S. aircraft transport to undertake intra-Congo airlift missions.

The United States is reimbursed by the United Nations for all goods and services provided to UNOC. There have been no fatalities or serious accidents involving U.S. personnel or aircraft since the beginning of U.S. logistic support to this Congo operation. This is a remarkable record since it has been the largest airlift (exceeding even the Berlin airlift) ever carried out by the United States in terms of total tons transported and passenger miles traveled.

## *Cuba*

### **Punta del Este Consideration, January 1962**

In a letter dated January 31, 1962, the Secretary General of the Organization of American States (OAS) transmitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for the information of the Security Council, the Final Act of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics held January 22-31, 1962, at Punta del Este, Uruguay. The Meeting of Consultation was called: to consider threats to the peace and political independence of the American states that might arise from the intervention of extracontinental powers directed toward breaking American solidarity; to point out the types of threats to the peace or acts that, in the event of their occurrence would justify the application of measures for the maintenance of peace and security, pursuant to chapter V of the Charter of the OAS and the provisions of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance; and, to determine what measures it would be advisable to take.

The Final Act of the Meeting comprised nine resolutions.

Resolution I declares that the continental unity and the democratic institutions of the hemisphere are endangered by the intensified subversive offensive of Communist governments, and that the principles of communism are incompatible with those of the inter-American system.

Resolution IV recommends that the governments of the American states whose structure or acts are incompatible with the effective exercise of representative democracy hold free elections to guarantee the restoration of a legal order based on the authority of the law and the respect for the rights of the individual.

Resolution VI refers to the report which had been submitted by the Inter-American Peace Committee to the Meeting of Consultation,

and declares that the present Government of Cuba has voluntarily placed itself outside the inter-American system. The resolution also resolves that:

1. Adherence by any OAS member to Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with the inter-American system, and the alignment of such a government with the Communist bloc breaks the unity and solidarity of the hemisphere;

2. The present Government of Cuba, which has officially identified itself as a Marxist-Lennist government, is incompatible with the principles and objectives of the inter-American system;

3. That incompatibility excludes the present Government of Cuba from participation in the inter-American system; and

4. The OAS Council as well as other organs and organizations of the inter-American system adopt, without delay, measures necessary to carry out this resolution.

Resolution VII resolves to exclude immediately the present Government of Cuba from the Inter-American Defense Board until the Council of the OAS shall determine that membership of the Government of Cuba is not prejudicial to the work of the Board or to the security of the hemisphere.

Resolution VIII resolves to suspend immediately trade with Cuba in arms and other implements of war; charged the Council of the OAS to study the feasibility and desirability of extending the suspension of trade to other items, especially those of strategic importance; and authorized the Council of the OAS to discontinue these measures at such time as the Government of Cuba demonstrates its compatibility with the purposes and principles of the inter-American system.

#### **U.N. General Assembly Consideration, February 1962**

During the resumed session of the 16th General Assembly the Assembly's Political and Security Committee considered the Cuban item at 13 meetings between February 5-15, 1962. The Representative of Cuba opened the debate on the morning of February 5 with a virulent attack upon the United States, dwelling at length upon the events of April 1961. He went on to accuse the United States of preparing new acts of "aggression" against Cuba: training Cuban "counter-revolutionaries" at bases in the United States and other areas, placing an embargo on Cuban goods, and engaging in "diplomatic aggression" at the Eighth Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Inter-American System at Punta del Este. He alleged that the action taken at Punta del Este was "discrimination against a state because of its social system," and therefore in conflict with the purposes and



principles of the U.N. Charter as well as being a violation of the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS).

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Stevenson, spoke next saying that he had "assumed the Representative of Cuba would have something new to say," but that, instead, in an effort to divert attention from "the recent action of the American states at Punta del Este, he had merely repeated charges already heard and disposed of by the United Nations at previous sessions of the General Assembly and Security Council." The Final Act of the Punta del Este meeting had been circulated to all members of the U.N. General Assembly as a U.N. document. The U.S. Representative summarized briefly the seven major resolutions included in the Final Act, and added that:

Hence we conclude that it is the Punta del Este conference itself which has given the answer to these Cuban charges. That conference, composed of Cuba's sister Latin American countries, unanimously determined that it is Cuba which is interfering with the self-determination of the American Republics, and that it is Cuba which is committing Marxist-Leninist aggression against the free institutions of its neighbors.

No, there is no quarrel in this country with the Cuban people. What the United States and its sister American Republics oppose is intervention in the affairs of this continent by dictatorships that have been fraudulently imposed on our peoples, a dictatorship in Cuba that is being artificially supported by an alien imperialism and that seeks to subvert and overthrow democratic freedom in the American hemisphere. That intervention we and the other American States do oppose and will oppose until the happy day when the Cuban people themselves are again able to walk in freedom and in the liberty of free institutions and are again able to take their rightful place in the brotherly solidarity of the American Republics.

Throughout the debate the Representatives of Cuba, the U.S.S.R., and all the Soviet bloc countries spoke repeatedly and at length, devoting their speeches primarily to attacking the United States and repeating the charges made by the Cuban Representative in opening the debate.

The Representatives from Guatemala, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Chile also spoke during the first week of the debate, maintaining the position that actions taken at Punta del Este were justified in view of the Cuban Government's declaration that it was Marxist-Leninist and the incompatibility of communism with the OAS, which is founded on the principle of representative democracy. The Representative of Guatemala stressed the threat which Cuba posed to his country's peace and security, while the Chilean Representative expressed the view that the attacks made against the United States were without foundation.

During the second week of the debate Representatives from the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Colombia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Pan-

ama, and Venezuela also spoke covering one or more of the following points: upholding the action taken at Punta del Este, pointing out the threat which Cuba's alignment with communism posed to the Western Hemisphere, and repudiating Cuba's charges against the United States as being without foundation. A number of representatives of the African and Asian countries as well as the Representative of Yugoslavia spoke during the second week of the debate. Their representatives emphasized the necessity of adhering to the principles of non-intervention and peaceful settlement of disputes but did not endorse Cuba's charges of U.S. intervention.

The U.S. Representative, in speaking on February 14, delivered the U.S. reply to the various charges made during the course of the debate. Responding to a specific question posed by the Soviet Representative, he said:

. . . yes, the United States does believe in the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries—and we strongly recommend this principle to the Cuban regime, especially with reference to its neighbours in this hemisphere. And while we are on the subject of non-intervention, I would strongly recommend it to the Soviet Union. Our memories are not so short that we have forgotten some events of recent years which are still on our agenda.

With respect to Punta del Este and the criticisms directed against it by Cuba and the Soviet bloc, the U.S. Representative said:

In short, Mr. Chairman, Cuba received no support on anything. No one voted with Cuba on anything. Cuba joined the others in voting for only one paragraph of one resolution, and there was not a single negative vote, other than Cuba's, on any resolution or any paragraph of any resolution. In other words, the newest associate of the Communist bloc stood alone in the self-imposed isolation which its interventions and disregard of human rights have brought upon itself.

Now, these are the facts about Punta del Este, and they show that what is before this Committee is not some bilateral issue between the Castro government and the Government of the United States, but a broad multilateral problem involving a self-declared Communist regime's aggressive hostility against all of the free nations of the Latin American world. It is not a bilateral problem, it is a hemispheric problem.

During its deliberations, the Political and Security Committee had before it a draft resolution submitted by Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

The operative paragraphs of this resolution appealed to the United States "to put an end to the interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cuba and to all the actions directed against the territorial integrity and political independence of Cuba"; and called upon Cuba and the United States "to settle their differences by peaceful means, through negotiations, without recourse to use of force."

The United States and the Latin American delegations made clear during the Committee debate their opposition to the Czech-Rumanian draft. No other draft resolution was introduced, and

the Czech-Rumanian draft was put to a vote by paragraph on February 15. The vote on the first operative paragraph was 11 in favor (Soviet bloc and Cuba), 50 against (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malaya, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, the U.K., the U.S., Uruguay, and Venezuela), with 39 abstentions. The vote on the second operative paragraph was 39 in favor (Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Poland, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., Upper Volta, Yemen, and Yugoslavia), 46 against (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malaya, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, the U.K., the U.S., Uruguay, and Venezuela), with 15 abstentions.

Since the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution had been rejected the Chairman of the Political and Security Committee declared, pursuant to rule 130 of the General Assembly rules of procedure, that the draft resolution as a whole was considered to have been rejected. Consequently, the Committee submitted no recommendation in its report to the General Assembly on the Cuban item.

On February 19 Outer Mongolia circulated a draft resolution on the Cuban item which it intended to introduce directly in plenary when the General Assembly was considering the report of the Political and Security Committee. As a result of the Mongolian draft resolution, Costa Rica moved that the plenary be adjourned prior to considering the Committee Report. This motion, designed to provide time to study the Mongolian draft resolution before voting on it, was opposed by the Soviet bloc and Cuba, but was nevertheless adopted by a vote of 53 (U.S.) to 11, with 29 abstentions.

On February 20 the Assembly met to hear the report of the Political and Security Committee. The rapporteur of the Committee said



that the only draft resolution submitted to the Committee had been rejected and therefore the Committee had no recommendation to make to the Assembly on the Cuban item. The Representative of Mongolia then formally introduced his draft resolution which would have had the Assembly recall that "it is a permanent aim of the United Nations to develop friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of any state."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Plimpton, stated that while the United States would abstain on the operative paragraph of the Mongolian draft resolution it would vote against the resolution as a whole. He denounced the Mongolian attempt to incorporate "noble and historic principles of the Charter" in a resolution whose title read "Complaint by Cuba of threats to international peace and security arising from new plans of aggression and acts of intervention being executed by the Government of the United States against the Revolutionary Government of Cuba." He went on to say:

Mr. President, when this item was inscribed last August, we recognized the competence of the General Assembly to concern itself with such grave charges. We welcomed the airing of those charges, the discussion of those charges. We were gratified by the display of hemispheric unity and the support of other members who repudiated those charges. We were gratified that not one of the 93 non-Communist members of this body voted with the Communist bloc to validate those charges. We trust, Mr. President, that this Assembly will act with the same sense of responsibility and will not be trapped by a transparent maneuver such as the one we now have before us and will vote against this draft resolution as a whole.

The vote on the operative paragraph of the Mongolian draft resolution was 39 in favor, 0 against, 61 (U.S.) abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was rejected by a vote of 37 (Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Poland, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., Upper Volta, Yemen, and Yugoslavia), to 45 against (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malaya, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, the U.K., the U.S., Uruguay, and Venezuela), with 18 abstentions.

## U.N. Security Council Consideration, February and March 1962

## FIRST CUBAN COMPLAINT

On February 22 the Cuban Representative sent a letter to the President of the Security Council charging the United States with having "... promoted the adoption of enforcement action within and outside the Organization of American States, as a prelude to the large-scale invasion of our country which it is preparing from its bases in the United States and in the Caribbean area." The Cuban letter went on to allege that the measures taken at Punta del Este were due to the United States "using regional agencies for its war plans against Cuba" and requested an immediate meeting of the Security Council.

The Council met to consider the Cuban request on February 27. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Plimpton, spoke in opposition to adoption of the agenda containing the Cuban request:

Just one week ago today, on 20 February, the sixteenth session of the General Assembly concluded an exhaustive, and if I may say so, an exhausting consideration of the so-called Cuban complaint against the United States. During two long weeks Cuba and the other members of the Communist bloc made exactly the same repetitive cold war charges against the United States and the same attacks on the Organization of American States and its decisions at Punta del Este that are contained in the letter now before this Council and which the representatives of the Soviet Union and Romania have repeated this afternoon. Not one of those charges was substantiated. Not one iota of proof was brought forward. It was as if the Communist bloc hoped to transmute factless charges into fact through mesmerizing the General Assembly. But the General Assembly was not mesmerized. Except for the eleven members of the Communist bloc, not a single delegation—not one—voted in favour of the paragraph in the Czechoslovak-Romanian draft resolution charging the United States with plans of aggression. Out of 104 Members in the General Assembly, only the eleven propagators of those accusations believed them.

The question of adoption of the agenda was then voted upon. Four delegations voted in favor (Ghana, Rumania, U.A.R., and the, U.S.S.R.), and seven abstained (Chile, China, France, Ireland, the U.K., the U.S., and Venezuela). Since this question did not receive the required seven affirmative votes, the agenda was rejected and the Security Council thereupon adjourned.

## SECOND CUBAN COMPLAINT

In a letter to the President of the Security Council dated March 8, 1962, the Representative of Cuba stated that the meeting of American Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Punta del Este had adopted resolutions in violation of the U.N. Charter, and that subsequently unlawful enforcement action had been taken against Cuba without

the requisite authorization of the Security Council under article 53. The sanctions constituted aggression against Cuba's sovereignty and threatened international peace and security. Accordingly, the Cuban Government requested that the Council be convened without delay to request the International Court of Justice, under articles 96 of the Charter and 65 of the Statute of the Court, for an advisory opinion on several specific questions related to the decisions taken at Punta del Este. In its letter Cuba also requested that the Security Council, under article 40 of the Charter, and as a provisional measure, call for the suspension of the decisions taken by the OAS at Punta del Este, and of such measures as might have been ordered in pursuance of those decisions.

At its 992d meeting on March 14 the Council included the item on its agenda without objection, and invited the Representative of Cuba to take a place at the Council table. The Council devoted seven meetings to the Cuban complaint.

The Representative of Cuba stated that his Government considered the decision to convene the Eighth Meeting of Consultation and the resolutions adopted at the meeting as "null and void" because they infringed upon the purposes and principles of international law. With respect to the resolution concerning the exclusion of the present Government of Cuba from participation in the inter-American system, the Representative of Cuba maintained that this resolution constitutes an arbitrary political action which violates the principle of self-determination embodied in articles 1, 5(b), 6, 9, and 13 of the Charter of the OAS, and in article 2 of the U.N. Charter. He stated that in addition to the unlawful exclusion of Cuba, certain collective coercive measures had been, and were being, implemented against Cuba without the approval of the Security Council, in violation of article 53 of the U.N. Charter. He expressed the hope that the Security Council would suspend those illegal measures and would unanimously request an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the questions submitted by his Government.

The Soviet Representative, in support of the Cuban request, stated that the questions raised by Cuba concerned only one aspect of the problem, namely, the recent attempts by the United States to draw into the orbit of its aggressive policy against Cuba other countries of Latin America and, among other regional organizations, the OAS. The use of a regional agency for aggressive purposes was contrary to the provisions of the U.N. Charter, and represented a new danger to peace with respect to which the Security Council could not remain inactive. Enforcement measures had been taken by the OAS against Cuba despite the fact that that Organization was not empowered to



do so without special authorization of the Security Council. The measures were illegal and a violation of both the U.N. Charter and the Charter of the OAS. He added that the Cuban request for an advisory opinion from the Court had confirmed once again Cuba's willingness to settle the problem in a peaceful manner.

The U.S. Representative observed that, whereas the previous Cuban complaints had been essentially alike in having attacked the United States or the OAS, the latest Cuban complaint aimed at the extension of the Soviet veto to all regional organizations by way of the Security Council. It was regrettable, he thought, that the Cuban Representative had not presented his request for a judicial opinion in a judicial manner, but had again argued about a political dispute which his Government had created between itself and all the other American Republics. He read from and summarized the resolutions adopted at Punta del Este, and stated that none of them constituted aggression, or contravened the U.N. Charter, or required Security Council authorization, or an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice. He said that Resolution VI, concerning the exclusion of the present Cuban regime from participation in the OAS, was a defensive reaction to the subversive activities of the Cuban regime against the free institutions and security of the American Republics. The OAS had decided, on the basis of facts brought out at Punta del Este, that Cuba had become a base for Communist aggression and subversion against those Republics. The OAS, as an agency for the collective defense of the hemisphere within the meaning of article 52 of the U.N. Charter, must be entitled to determine who should participate in its proceedings, without being subjected to a veto in the Security Council. As regards the suspension of trade in arms and its extension to other items, no "enforcement action" was involved within the meaning of article 53 of the U.N. Charter. Suspension of trade was a step that any state could legally take, individually or collectively, without authorization from anyone. Moreover, the Security Council had already considered the issue and had reached a decision in September 1960 in connection with the action that the OAS had taken regarding the Dominican Republic.

The U.S. Representative pointed out that from a survey of the nine resolutions adopted at Punta del Este, three conclusions emerged:

1. The only aggression involved was the documented aggressive activities of the Cuban Communist regime which the countries of Latin America had found unanimously to be directed against the free democratic institutions of the American Republic;

2. No violation of the U.N. Charter was involved; and

3. Nothing was involved that would justify the Security Council in invoking article 53 of the U.N. Charter.

The responsibilities of the OAS had been satisfied when it had reported under article 54. There was no question which merited submission to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion. Although the United States had always favored increased recourse to the International Court, it did not favor the use of the Court for cold war political purposes foreign to the U.N. Charter and the Statute of the Court.

While Chile had abstained at Punta del Este on the resolution concerning the exclusion of the present Government of Cuba from participation in the inter-American system and the resolution concerning economic sanctions, the Representative of Chile pointed out that these resolutions did not constitute enforcement action or coercive measures. Therefore, his Government considered that the Security Council, after having discussed the matter, could only take note of the decisions of Punta del Este without a reference to the International Court of Justice.

The Representative of Venezuela stated that nothing in the U.N. Charter compelled a regional organization to retain within its system a state which did not adhere to its principles. The economic measures had been adopted not because of Cuba's Communist regime but because of its interference in the internal affairs of other American Republics. Those measures did not constitute enforcement action within the meaning of article 53 of the Charter.

The Representative of the United Kingdom stated that the questions submitted by Cuba were essentially political although "disguised in a legal form." He reiterated the position of his Government, expressed at the 1960 Security Council meeting on the Dominican Republic, that the Charter did not define "enforcement action" and that "it is common sense to interpret the use of this term in Article 53 as covering only such actions as would not normally be legitimate except on the basis of a Security Council resolution. There is nothing in international law, in principle, to prevent any state, if it so desires, from breaking off diplomatic relations or instituting a partial interruption of economic relations with any other state." He therefore considered that the question before the Council should not be further pursued.

The Representatives of China, France, and Ireland all stated their disagreement with the Cuban and Soviet interpretation of "enforcement action" and their inability to support the Cuban requests for an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and for suspension of the measures adopted at Punta del Este. The Representatives

of Rumania and Ghana indicated their support for the request to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion, while the Representative of the United Arab Republic made a statement which was noncommittal on the questions of an advisory opinion and suspension of the measures adopted at Punta del Este.

Cuba had earlier submitted a draft resolution embodying the questions raised in its letter of March 8 and asking for an International Court of Justice advisory opinion on them. Operative paragraph 3 of this draft resolution asked whether "enforcement action" in article 53 of the Charter should be "considered to include the measures provided for in Article 41 of the United Nations Charter?" Operative paragraph 7 asked whether, in light of the replies to questions posed in operative paragraph 3 and other operative paragraphs, the Punta del Este resolutions are "consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter?"

On March 23 at the 998th meeting of the Council, the Soviet Representative requested that the Cuban draft resolution be put to a vote. The Representative of Ghana requested a separate vote on the third operative paragraph. The vote on this paragraph was 4 (Ghana, Rumania, U.A.R., and the U.S.S.R.) to 7 (Chile, China, France, Ireland, the U.K., the U.S., and Venezuela). The draft resolution as a whole was then rejected by a vote of 2 (Rumania and U.S.S.R.) to 7 (Chile, China, France, Ireland, the U.K., the U.S., and Venezuela), with 1 (U.A.R.) abstention. Ghana did not participate in the vote.

### **Soviet Offensive Weapons in Cuba**

#### **SOVIET BUILDUP**

On October 22 President Kennedy announced to the nation and to the world the "secret, swift and extraordinary buildup" by the Soviet Union of offensive missiles in Cuba and the initial steps that the United States was taking to cope with this threat. Information on the buildup had been given to the President the previous Tuesday morning (October 16) and, during the week that followed, surveillance was stepped up, confirming evidence evaluated, a course of action decided upon, friendly governments notified and consulted, the members and machinery of the Organization of American States (OAS) brought into the picture, and American defenses in the Caribbean strengthened and put on the alert.

The President revealed that a serious threat against the peace and security of the Americas was being secretly mounted by the Soviet Union on the "imprisoned island" of Cuba. Sites for medium-range



ballistic missiles (MRBMs) capable of carrying a nuclear warhead 1,000 nautical miles had been rapidly and secretly installed and additional sites not yet completed were designed for intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) capable of traveling twice as far and thus posing a nuclear threat to most of the major cities of the Western Hemisphere. This urgent transformation of Cuba into a strategic base with nuclear-striking capacity constituted an explicit threat to the peace and security of the Americas in defiance of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Pact) of 1947, "the traditions of this nation and hemisphere," and the Charter of the United Nations. This Soviet action contradicted the repeated assurances of Soviet spokesmen, both publicly and privately delivered, that the arms build-up in Cuba would retain its original defensive character. Neither the United States nor the world community, the President emphasized, could tolerate the deliberate deception and offensive threat represented by the clandestine deployment of strategic nuclear weapons.

To meet this threat the United States was taking immediately the following steps:

1. Initiating a strict quarantine of all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba;
2. Directing the continued and increased close surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup, and, should offensive military preparations continue, "further action will be justified";
3. Declaring that it shall be the policy of the United States to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union;
4. Reinforcing Guantanamo;
5. Calling for an immediate meeting of the Council of the OAS to invoke the Rio Treaty in support of hemispheric security; and
6. Under the Charter of the United Nations, requesting an emergency meeting of the Security Council.

Finally, the President called on Premier Khrushchev "to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless, and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations."

#### U.S. OBJECTIVE

This was a difficult and dangerous effort on which the United States had set out, the President concluded, "but the greatest danger of all would be to do nothing." On the military side, steps were taken to strengthen defenses in the Caribbean and to put U.S. forces in a posture to apply the quarantine. The Department of Defense had

ordered all tours of duty of Navy and Marine personnel extended until further notice; the Guantanamo naval base defenses were strengthened; air power was built up in the Southeastern portion of the United States; and military deployment put 5,000 marines and 40 naval vessels in the Caribbean, initially as part of a training exercise. Following the resolution adopted by the Council of the OAS, serving provisionally as Organ of Consultation (see page 105), the President issued a proclamation establishing the quarantine of Cuba as of 10 a.m., e.d.t., October 24. The Department of Defense ordered the interdiction of 24 Soviet merchant vessels known to be headed for Cuba (see page 105). At 8 a.m. on October 25 the first interception of a Soviet ship, the oil tanker *Bucharest*, took place, and the ship was allowed to proceed. Sixteen of the 24 Soviet vessels heading for Cuba turned around and no encounter with a contraband-carrying vessel occurred during the Cuba affair.

From the beginning it was clear that in the political and diplomatic realm the implementation of U.S. policy involved two immediate tasks. The first and most proximate task of U.S. diplomacy was to show that the Soviets had in fact used guile and deception to emplace in Cuba offensive nuclear weapons, and that our evidence was conclusive. The second was to halt further shipments and bring about rapidly and effectively the removal of the offensive weapons under U.N. supervision before the quarantine could be lifted. The United States was prepared to negotiate on modalities and to consider various formulas but not to abandon the goal of the removal of the offensive weapons.

From the start, both the OAS and the United Nations were involved. Resources and institutions of this hemisphere were used to underline its solidarity and determination, and to convince the Soviet Union that elimination of the offensive weapons was a purpose to which the hemisphere was solidly committed. From the start, too, it was clear that the United Nations would have a crucial role. It was the forum in which the evidence of Soviet guilt could be most convincingly exposed to a worldwide audience, and where world opinion could be mobilized, and the world verdict pronounced. It was, also, a ready and efficient mechanism for diplomatic communications. The United Nations served as a site where U.S. and Soviet negotiators could easily meet. The Secretary-General himself supplied an important link between the parties particularly during the first days when tension was highest. Thirdly, although Cuba prevented their employment, the United Nations proved itself willing and able to devise acceptable mechanisms for inspection and verification of dismantling and removal of the offensive weapons and for safeguards against their reintroduction. The United Nations was also

prepared to carry out the necessary operational responsibilities. Simultaneously with the President's speech, therefore, the United States took diplomatic steps to set in motion the political machinery of the OAS and the United Nations.

#### ACTION BY THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS)

In Washington the U.S. Representative on the Council of the Organization of American States (COAS) sent a note to the acting chairman requesting the immediate convocation of the Organ of Consultation under article 6 of the Rio Treaty. This article provides for immediate consultation on measures to be taken for the common defense and for the maintenance of peace and security of the continent when "the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any American State should be affected by an aggression which is not an armed attack or by an extra-continental or intra-continental conflict, or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America."

The OAS Council met on the morning of October 23. Secretary of State Dean Rusk sitting as the U.S. Representative described the nature of the threat to this hemisphere and the countermeasures which the United States considered it essential for the inter-American system to take. He stated that "the Soviet intervention in this hemisphere with major offensive weapons challenges as never before the determination of the American governments to carry out hemispheric commitments solemnly assumed in inter-American treaties and resolutions for the defense of the peace and security of the nations of this hemisphere against extracontinental aggression or intervention." He proposed that under the Rio Treaty the Council, serving as the Organ of Consultation, without delay "call for the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all missiles and other weapons of offensive capability and . . . recommend . . . [that] the member states of the OAS . . . take the measures necessary to insure that . . . [Cuba] does not continue to receive additional offensive weapons, to prevent the offensive capacity already acquired by the Castro regime from being used to destroy the peace and security of the hemisphere."

The Secretary noted that the United States was simultaneously asking the U.N. Security Council to act in the matter. He observed:

The threat is to our hemisphere, and we have the primary responsibility and duty to act as we are now doing as a hemisphere. But the threat originates from outside the hemisphere, and it is appropriate that the extracontinental power which challenges our inter-American commitments . . . be dealt with in that forum in which the power participates. It is therefore fitting in this case



that the Security Council of the United Nations be requested to call upon this member to refrain from his aggressive actions against us and to seek to enforce upon him its decisions.

Meanwhile, without awaiting the outcome of the United Nations approach, we must insure that our hemisphere is effectively quarantined against any further additions to Soviet offensive nuclear military power in our midst.

Following a general discussion of the danger confronting the hemisphere the Council voted to constitute itself provisionally as the Organ of Consultation (COAS/OC), an action which received unanimous support. Then, at the suggestion of the U.S. Representative, the Organ of Consultation adjourned for several hours to permit a number of delegations to consult their governments and receive instructions on the draft resolution presented by the United States to deal with the threat confronting the hemisphere.

The Organ of Consultation reconvened that same afternoon. Debate centered on the draft resolution. As each representative spoke, it became evident that the American Republics were solidly united in their determination to resist this most dangerous threat to the peace and security of the hemisphere. A few delegations were not in a position to vote affirmatively on certain provisions of the resolution, a fact attributable for the most part to domestic constitutional considerations, but the resolution as a whole received unanimous support. In one of the historic decisions of the inter-American system the Organ of Consultation: (1) called for "the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all missiles and other weapons with any offensive capability," and (2) recommended that "the member states, in accordance with Articles 6 and 8 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, take all measures, individually and collectively including the use of armed force, which they may deem necessary to ensure that the Government of Cuba cannot continue to receive from the Sino-Soviet powers military material and related supplies which may threaten the peace and security of the Continent and to prevent the missiles in Cuba with offensive capability from ever becoming an active threat to the peace and security of the Continent." The resolution also expressed "the hope that the Security Council will, in accordance with the Resolution introduced by the United States, dispatch United Nations observers to Cuba at the earliest moment."

Following the meeting of the COAS/OC and pursuant to the recommendations contained in the second paragraph of the resolution adopted, President Kennedy issued the Presidential proclamation interdicting the delivery of offensive weapons and associated material to Cuba, to commence at 2 p.m., Greenwich time on October 24. The proclamation stated that the Secretary of Defense "shall take appropriate measures to prevent the delivery of prohibited material to Cuba,

employing the land, sea and air forces of the United States in co-operation with any forces that may be made available by other American States." The Secretary of Defense was authorized to designate prohibited or restricted zones and prescribed routes and the proclamation declared that "Any vessel or craft which may be proceeding toward Cuba may be intercepted and may be directed to identify itself, its cargo, equipment and stores and its ports of call, to stop, to lie to, to submit to visit and search, or to proceed as directed." Any vessel that refused to comply with directions might be taken into custody. In carrying out the order force was not to be used except in case of failure or refusal to comply with directions or regulations after reasonable efforts had been made to communicate with the vessel or craft, or in self-defense.

In the days immediately following, 12 other American Republics offered assistance in support of the quarantine operation: Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and Venezuela. Several of these offers included naval units, posing the problem of coordination of forces. Consequently, on November 5 the COAS/OC recommended that the contributing member states take among themselves the technical measures necessary to establish an efficient and coordinated action. Pursuant to this recommendation, the Governments of Argentina, the Dominican Republic, and the United States on November 9 notified the COAS/OC of the establishment of an inter-American combined quarantine force into which they were integrating their respective naval units and placing officers of the participating navies on the staff of the Commander of the Combined Quarantine Force.

#### U.N. CONSIDERATION

*Security Council Meeting, October 23.* Simultaneously with the call for a meeting of the OAS Council, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, requested the President of the U.N. Security Council—that month the Soviet Representative—to call an urgent meeting of the Council "to deal with the dangerous threat to the peace and security of the world caused by the secret establishment in Cuba by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of launching bases and the installation of long-range ballistic missiles capable of carrying thermonuclear warheads to most of North and South America." "The United States," he wrote, "now has incontrovertible evidence that the U.S.S.R. has been installing in Cuba a whole series of facilities for launching offensive nuclear missiles and other offensive weapons and installing the weapons themselves." The establishment of

these bases, the U.S. Representative declared, "constitutes a grave threat to the peace and security of this hemisphere and of the whole world." It should be the purpose of Security Council action, he concluded, "to bring about the immediate dismantling and withdrawal of the Soviet missiles and other offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of United Nations observers, to make it possible to lift the quarantine which is being put into effect." He also expressed the willingness of the United States to confer with the Soviet Union "on measures to remove the existing threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere and the peace of the world."

The Security Council held four meetings on October 23, 24, and 25. By the time the first meeting opened on the afternoon of October 23, the Soviet Union and Cuba had introduced two parallel letters to the President of the Security Council. Though they made similar requests for an urgent meeting of the Council they attempted to change the focus of the question. They contended that U.S. countermeasures and "aggressive action" against Cuba constituted the real threat to peace in the Caribbean. Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, the Cuban Representative was invited to participate in the discussion of the matter before the Security Council.

Ambassador Stevenson's opening speech put the issue in the perspective of Soviet postwar aggressive expansionism. He traced the "vast plan of piecemeal aggression" and "the basic drive to abolish the world of the Charter" which had characterized Soviet policy in the postwar years and which had not been altered by the present Soviet Government. Contrasting the history of Soviet expansionism and rejection of the principles of the Charter with the U.S. record of loyal support for the Organization and "the world of the Charter," the U.S. Representative regretted that some members "seem to believe that the cold war is a private struggle between two great super powers. It is not a private struggle;" he insisted, "it is a world civil war—a contest between the pluralistic world and the monolithic world—a contest between the world of the Charter and the world of Communist conformity." The Castro regime, he pointed out, "has aided and abetted an invasion of this hemisphere" and "has given the Soviet Union a . . . staging area in this hemisphere" by inviting "an extra-continental, anti-democratic and expansionist power into the bosom of the American family;" and by making itself "an accomplice in the Communist enterprise of world dominion." The Soviet Union, he continued, in an attempt to put all the Americas under a "nuclear gun" and to intensify the "Soviet diplomacy of blackmail" had secretly transformed Cuba into a formidable missile and strategic airbase, armed with the deadliest, most far-reaching modern nuclear



weapons. The day of forbearance is past, he concluded. "If the United States and the other nations of the Western Hemisphere should accept this new phase of aggression, we would be delinquent in our obligations to world peace." He could not believe that the Soviet leadership had deluded itself into supposing the United States lacked the nerve and will to use its power, and he voiced the hope that the Soviets would call an end "to this ominous adventure."

The U.S. Representative then submitted a draft resolution which called for the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all missiles and other offensive weapons, and which authorized the sending to Cuba of a U.N. observer corps to assure and report on compliance with the resolution. The draft resolution called for an end to the U.S. quarantine of military shipments to Cuba when the above terms were complied with and recommended that the United States and the U.S.S.R. "confer promptly on measures to remove the existing threat . . . ."

The U.S. Representative then informed the Security Council that the Council of the OAS had adopted a resolution (see page 105) calling for the dismantling and withdrawal of the offensive weapons, recommending that member states of the OAS take all measures to insure that the threat was removed from the continent, and expressing the hope that the Security Council would "dispatch U.N. observers to Cuba at the earliest moment."

Ambassador Stevenson thus made three points before the Security Council which defined the themes for the debate during the rest of the week:

1. The Soviet action in sending thousands of military technicians to its puppet in the Western Hemisphere, supplying jet bombers capable of delivering nuclear weapons, installing missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads and preparing sites for additional missiles with a range of 2,200 miles, and doing these things through deceit and under the cloak of secrecy, was in defiance of the security commitments of the OAS and in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and contained a manifest threat to this hemisphere and to the whole world.

2. The action and policy of the United States in this matter were in consonance with the U.N. Charter and had the unanimous backing of the OAS.

3. The Security Council should remove the threat by calling, as the draft resolution proposed, for the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all missiles and all offensive weapons; authorizing and requesting the Secretary-General to dispatch to Cuba a U.N. observer corps to assure and report in compliance with this

resolution; calling for termination of the quarantine upon U.N. certification of such compliance; and urgently recommending that the United States and the Soviet Union confer promptly on measures to remove the existing threat to the security and the peace of the world and report therein to the Security Council.

Following Ambassador Stevenson's presentation, the Cuban and Soviet Representatives made their initial statements. The Cuban Representative denounced the naval "blockade" as an "act of war" and declared that the Cuban people had answered the "imminent armed attack" with general mobilization. He asked the Council to call for the immediate withdrawal of all troops, ships, and planes deployed on the approaches to Cuban shores, and for the cessation of all "interventionist" measures. The Cuban Representative also contended that the United States had no right to ask for dismantling and disarmament and that "Logically, United Nations observers should be sent to the United States bases from which invaders and pirates emerge to punish and harass a small State . . . ." He insisted that Cuba "will not accept any kind of observers in matters which fall within our domestic jurisdiction."

The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Zorin, declared that the U.S. charges were an attempt to cover up "aggressive actions" in Cuba. He described the U.S. quarantine as a "new and extremely dangerous act of aggression" and as "undisguised piracy." During this first encounter, while avoiding direct reference to the presence of Soviet missiles or bombers in Cuba, the Soviet Representative declared that accusations to the effect that the Soviet Union had "set up offensive armaments in Cuba" were false, and officially confirmed the statement already made by the Soviet Union in this connection, "that the Soviet Government has not directed and is not directing to Cuba any offensive armaments." He also recalled the statement of Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs Andrei Gromyko in the General Assembly just a month previously (September 21, 1962) that "any sober-minded man knows that Cuba is not . . . building up her forces to such a degree that she can pose a threat to the United States . . . or else a threat to any State of the Western Hemisphere."

The Soviet Representative submitted to the Security Council a statement published by the Soviet Government that day which addressed a "serious warning to the United States Government, to advise it that, in carrying out the measures announced by President Kennedy, it is taking on itself a heavy responsibility for the fate of the world,"; declared that the Soviet Government will do "everything in its power to frustrate the aggressive designs of United States imperialist circles"; and appealed to all governments and peoples to raise

their voices in protest against the "aggressive acts" of the United States and strongly to condemn such acts. He introduced a draft resolution condemning the "actions of the Government of the United States of America aimed at violating the United Nations Charter and at increasing the threat of war." The Soviet draft resolution insisted that the United States "revoke its decision to inspect ships of other States bound for the Republic of Cuba," and called upon the United States, Cuba, and the U.S.S.R. "to establish contact and enter into negotiations for the purpose of restoring the situation to normal and thus of removing the threat of an outbreak of war."

The Security Council meeting was adjourned to the following morning so that representatives might consult with other delegations outside the Council.

*Security Council Meeting, October 24.* The next morning the Security Council heard the Representative of Venezuela, Mr. Sosa-Rodriguez, associate the Latin American nations with the action taken by the United States pursuant to the OAS resolution. He noted that "it has been proved that the Soviet Union has set up in Cuba rocket bases that might deliver nuclear missiles to about 1,000 miles distance, and that, apparently, it is at present setting up others for rockets with a range of up to 2,200 miles." This had created an atmosphere of insecurity and concern in the countries of the American hemisphere which felt themselves directly threatened by such weapons. The weapons in Cuba, the Venezuelan Representative emphasized, were no longer defensive but offensive, and "they are of a magnitude that might be sufficient to wipe out any of the American Republics and drag the world into the holocaust of nuclear war." He described the apprehension felt throughout the continent at Cuban subversive activities, including the introduction of agents, propaganda, and weapons to equip guerrilla forces in American Republics. The Venezuelan Representative recalled the resolution adopted by the OAS and declared that he was speaking for the entire continent in asking the Security Council to take measures to stop nuclear weapons from arriving in Cuba and to have the presently existing bases of nuclear rockets in Cuba dismantled.

Sir Patrick Dean, the U.K. Representative, noted that by no stretch even of the Soviet imagination could a nuclear missile with a range of 2,200 miles in Cuba be called defensive, and recalled assurances on this point by Foreign Minister Gromyko and President Dorticos of Cuba at the General Assembly the previous month. "While the Soviet Government was acting their lie," he stated, "the orders were being given, plans laid and preparations being made for the supply of missiles to Cuba. Who can possibly believe in the honesty of the Soviet Government's intentions in these circumstances?" The United



Kingdom, he concluded, considered that the United States acted properly by coming to the Security Council at the first possible moment. Now the Security Council must take immediate and urgent steps to restore confidence in the Western Hemisphere by having these offensive missiles dismantled and withdrawn. The United Kingdom fully supported the U.S. draft resolution before the Council.

The Representative of Rumania, Mr. Malitza, supported the Soviet position. The Irish Foreign Minister, Mr. Aiken, underlined world concern with the growth of Soviet intervention in Cuba. He appreciated Cuban concern with its national security, "But it is a far cry from that to a military build-up of the kind which the Cuban Government now appears to have embarked upon with the massive assistance of the Soviet Union." He could not understand "why the Soviet Union should have chosen this moment to establish new missile and bomber bases on the island of Cuba?" The Foreign Minister believed he perceived some common ground in the U.S. statement to the Security Council of October 22 which declared U.S. willingness "to confer with the Soviet Union on measures to remove the existing threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere" and in the Soviet draft resolution which proposed that the United States, U.S.S.R. and Cuba establish contacts and enter into negotiations.

The Security Council reconvened that evening, some 48 hours after President Kennedy's historic speech. The naval quarantine had gone into effect that morning. Members knew that if a Soviet ship attempted to run the quarantine the result would be serious. They also knew that the President had indicated that the quarantine was an "immediate step" which would be followed by "further action" if the Soviet missiles were not removed.

At this meeting the Council heard statements by those members who had not yet spoken: France, China, Chile, the United Arab Republic, and Ghana. In addition the Secretary-General made a statement. The Representative of France, noted that "The appearance of foreign nuclear missiles on Cuban soil . . . cannot be considered as other than a serious initiative aimed at creating a new war front in a region which up to now has been free from such threats." He stated that the United States had demonstrated clearly that it is seeking a peaceful solution in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and that the solution proposed by the United States was desirable in the interest of the countries concerned and "in order to banish once and for all the dangers with which world peace is threatened by the recent developments in Cuba." Ambassador Liu, speaking for the Republic of China, noted that it was particularly disturbing to see Cuba transformed, as a result of Sino-Soviet intervention, into an armed base for Communist penetration of the Americas. He

declared that the measures initiated by the United States designed to call an immediate halt to the shipment of military material to Cuba were justified and supported the U.S. draft resolution as a reasonable and peaceful solution.

The Chilean Representative endorsed the security measures of the regional system and expressed support for the U.S. draft resolution. He welcomed the authorization that the U.S. draft resolution gave to the Secretary-General to dispatch an observer corps to Cuba. "Unfortunately," he said, "the representative of Cuba yesterday rejected this idea. At such a decisive moment as this, we believe Cuba should trust the methods of the United Nations for putting out the flames of conflict and for ensuring peace. One such method could be to ensure the United Nations presence in a zone of conflict. . . . We make a fervent and heartfelt appeal to Cuba to accept such a procedure . . . ."

The U.A.R. Representative declared that his government "cannot condone the unilateral decision of the United States of America to exercise the quarantine" which he characterized as contrary to international law and likely to increase world tension. He recalled that Dr. Dorticos had told the General Assembly that the weapons Cuba had acquired were "defensive in nature," and he called for "normalization" of relations between Cuba and the United States. At the same time he reaffirmed U.A.R. policies against the spread of nuclear weapons. He urged all parties to refrain from tension-aggravating action and called for negotiations. The Ghanaian Representative took a similar position, stating that he had no "incontrovertible proof . . . as to the offensive character of military developments in Cuba" and therefore could not condone the quarantine. He also called for negotiations to resolve the crisis on the basis of "mutual respect for . . . sovereign rights." The U.A.R.-Ghana joint draft resolution requested the Secretary-General "to promptly confer with the parties directly concerned on the immediate steps to be taken to remove the existing threat to world peace, and to normalize the situation in the Caribbean;" and called on the parties concerned to comply forthwith with the resolution, to provide every assistance to the Secretary-General, and "to refrain meanwhile from any action which may directly or indirectly further aggravate the situation." The formula proposed was thus limited to a general appeal for mediation by the Secretary-General, but provided neither for the suspension of the Soviet offensive buildup nor for U.N. involvement in inspection and verification.

*U Thant Proposal of October 24.* At the close of the Security Council meeting October 24, the Secretary-General in a significant statement revealed that he had just addressed an urgent appeal to

President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev which proposed "the voluntary suspension of all arms shipments to Cuba, and also the voluntary suspension of the quarantine measures involving the searching of ships bound for Cuba." U Thant believed that such voluntary suspension for a period of 2 to 3 weeks would greatly ease the situation and give time to the parties to "meet and discuss." He offered to "make myself available to all parties for whatever services I may be able to perform."

In addition to this appeal to President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev, the Secretary-General took the occasion of the Security Council meeting to address an urgent appeal to the President and Premier of Cuba, declaring that "it would also contribute greatly to the same end if the construction and development of major military facilities and installations in Cuba could be suspended during the period of negotiations." He then appealed to "the parties concerned" to enter into negotiations immediately, "even this night," irrespective of other procedures, with the first subject to be discussed being the "modalities" to achieve his suggestions.

The next day President Kennedy's reply reminded the Secretary-General that the threat "was created by the secret introduction of offensive weapons into Cuba, and the answer lies in the removal of such weapons." The President noted that the Secretary-General had "made certain suggestions and . . . invited preliminary talks to determine whether satisfactory arrangements can be assured." He indicated that "Ambassador Stevenson is ready to discuss these arrangements with you." Premier Khrushchev's reply welcomed U Thant's initiative and characterized the situation "as highly dangerous and calling for the immediate intervention by the United Nations."

When the Security Council reconvened Thursday afternoon for what proved to be the last formal meeting on the Cuban crisis, Ambassador Stevenson welcomed both the course adopted by the Soviet Union the previous day to avoid direct confrontations in the zone of quarantine and the report that Premier Khrushchev had agreed to the proposals advanced by the Secretary-General. Nevertheless, the situation remained serious and Ambassador Stevenson set the theme in his opening remark by inviting the Council to address itself to "the realities of the situation posed by the build-up of nuclear striking power in Cuba."

Ambassador Stevenson cautioned the Council not to forget that "We are here today . . . for one single reason: because the Soviet Union secretly introduced this menacing offensive military build-up into the island of Cuba while assuring the world that nothing was further from their thoughts." Already the Communists had attempted to distort the record by arguing that it was not the Soviet Union which created



this threat to peace by secretly installing these weapons in Cuba, "but that it was the United States which created this crisis by discovering and reporting these installations. This is the first time, I confess," the U.S. Representative continued, "that I have ever heard it said that the crime is not the burglar but the discovery of the burglar. . . ." He noted that some representatives in the Council say that they do not know whether the Soviet Union has in fact built in Cuba installations capable of firing nuclear missiles over ranges from 1,000-2,000 miles. If further doubt remained on this score the United States would gladly exhibit photographic evidence to the doubtful.

One by one the U.S. Representative demolished the arguments that the Soviet Representative had presented at the first Security Council meeting. As for the "thirty-five bases in foreign countries" which the Soviet Representative had mentioned, the U.S. Representative explained that the fact was that there were "missiles comparable to those being placed in Cuba with the forces of only three of our allies"—the United Kingdom, Italy, and Turkey—and that these were established by the decision of the heads-of-government meeting in December 1957 which was "compelled to authorize such arrangements by virtue of a prior Soviet decision to introduce its own missiles capable of destroying the countries of Western Europe." ". . . Why was it necessary for the nations of the Western Hemisphere to act with such speed?" The "speed and stealth" of the Soviet offensive buildup in Cuba demonstrated the premeditated attempt by the Soviet Union "to confront this hemisphere with a *fait accompli*." If the United States had not acted promptly and had delayed its counteractions, "the nuclearization of Cuba would have been quickly completed." He stressed that the United States had acted promptly to put into process "the political machinery that we pray will achieve a solution to this grave crisis." The one action in the last few days which had strengthened the peace was the determination to stop this further spread of weapons in this hemisphere. The United States was now in the Security Council, the U.S. Representative noted, because it wished the machinery of the United Nations "to take over, to reduce these tensions, and to interpose itself to eliminate this aggressive threat to the peace and to assure the removal from this hemisphere of offensive nuclear weapons and the corresponding lifting of the quarantine."

When the Soviet Representative again attempted to delude the Council about the facts of the Soviet offensive buildup, a dramatic encounter occurred between Ambassadors Stevenson and Zorin, which exposed the truth beyond doubt.

*Ambassador Stevenson:* . . . Well, let me say something to you, Mr. Ambassador: We do have the evidence. We have it, and it is clear

and incontrovertible. And let me say something else: Those weapons must be taken out of Cuba.

Next, let me say to you that, if I understood you, you said—with a trespass on credulity that excels your best—that our position had changed since I spoke here the other day because of the pressures of world opinion and a majority of the United Nations. Well, let me say to you, sir: You are wrong again. We have had no pressure from anyone whatsoever. We came here today to indicate our willingness to discuss U Thant's proposals—and that is the only change that has taken place.

But let me also say to you, sir, that there has been a change. You, the Soviet Union, have sent these weapons to Cuba. You, the Soviet Union, have upset the balance of power in the world. You, the Soviet Union, have created this new danger—not the United States.

Finally, Mr. Zorin, I remind you that the other day you did not deny the existence of these weapons. Instead, we heard that they had suddenly become defensive weapons. But today—again, if I heard you correctly—you say that they do not exist, or that we have not proved they exist—and you say this with another fine flood of rhetorical scorn. All right, sir, let me ask you one simple question: Do you, Ambassador Zorin, deny that the USSR has placed and is placing medium- and intermediate-range missiles and sites in Cuba? Yes or no? Do not wait for the interpretation. Yes or no?

*Ambassador Zorin:* I am not in an American courtroom, sir, and therefore I do not wish to answer a question that is put to me in the fashion in which a prosecutor puts questions. In due course, sir, you will have your reply.

*Ambassador Stevenson:* You are in the courtroom of world opinion right now, and you can answer “yes” or “no.” You have denied that they exist—and I want to know whether I have understood you correctly.

Inasmuch as the Soviet Representative delayed his response, the U.S. Representative proceeded to present conclusive evidence of the existence of Soviet offensive weapons in Cuba. This consisted of a display of enlarged aerial photographs and maps pinpointing the details and location in Cuba of Soviet bomber aircraft and of Soviet missile bases, complete with launching sites and supporting equipment, “in short, all of the requirements to maintain, load, and fire these terrible weapons.” When the Soviet Representative's reply again evaded the question of whether the Soviet Union had installed offensive missiles in Cuba, the U.S. Representative challenged the Soviet Union to ask

the Cubans to permit a U.N. team to visit the sites he had identified in order to authenticate the evidence.

The proposal made by the United Arab Republic, and supported by Ghana, to postpone further work of the Council and to adjourn the meeting was adopted without objection, in the light of the willingness of the United States and the U.S.S.R. to consult with the Secretary-General on his suggestions of the previous day. The Security Council thus adjourned but remained "seized" of the problem while the parties negotiated.

#### WEEKEND NEGOTIATIONS

*Kennedy-Khrushchev Letters.* Over the weekend of October 26-28 there was an exchange of letters between Moscow and Washington which transformed the nature of the Cuba crisis. On October 26 Premier Khrushchev sent a letter to President Kennedy making certain proposals on the removal of offensive weapons from Cuba. On October 27 another letter from Premier Khrushchev, which was broadcast before delivery, also expressed willingness to withdraw the weapons but proposed to link the question of Soviet offensive weapons in Cuba to the unrelated issue of strategic weapons in Turkey. The Soviet Union would "agree to remove those weapons from Cuba which you regard as offensive weapons. We agree to do this and to state this commitment in the United Nations. Your representatives will make a statement to the effect that the United States, on its part, bearing in mind the anxiety and concern of the Soviet state, will evacuate its analogous weapons from Turkey."

"After this, representatives of the U.N. Security Council could control on-the-spot the fulfillment of these commitments. Of course," he added, "it is necessary that the Governments of Cuba and Turkey would allow these representatives to come to their countries and check fulfillment of this commitment . . . ." In addition, Premier Khrushchev proposed that the United States and the U.S.S.R. give pledges against invasion of Cuba and Turkey, respectively, and solemn promises to respect the sovereignty and the inviolability of the frontiers of these countries.

This tie-in of Turkey with Cuba was immediately rejected by the United States. A statement issued by the White House that day noted that several inconsistent and conflicting proposals had been made by the U.S.S.R. in the past 24 hours, including the one just broadcast. This proposal involved the security of nations outside the Western Hemisphere and it was the Western Hemisphere nations alone that were the subject of the threat which produced the crisis. The position of the United States, the statement read, was that "as an urgent pre-



liminary to consideration of any proposals work on the Cuban bases must stop; offensive weapons must be rendered inoperable; and further shipment of offensive weapons to Cuba must cease—all under effective international verification.” As to proposals concerning the security of nations outside this hemisphere, the statement concluded, the United States and its allies had long taken the lead in seeking properly inspected arms limitation, on both sides. These efforts could continue as soon as the present Soviet-created threat was ended.

President Kennedy’s letter to Premier Khrushchev of October 27 replied to Khrushchev’s letter of October 26.

“As I read your letter,” the President wrote, “the key elements of your proposals—which seem generally acceptable as I understand them—are as follows:

1) You would agree to remove these weapons systems from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba.

2) We, on our part, would agree—upon establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments—(a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect, and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba. I am confident that other nations of the Western Hemisphere would be prepared to do likewise.

Assuming work ceased on offensive missile bases in Cuba and all weapons systems in Cuba capable of offensive use were rendered inoperable, under effective U.N. arrangements, the President was prepared to have representatives in New York work out an arrangement in cooperation with the Secretary-General for a permanent solution along the lines suggested in Premier Khrushchev’s letter of October 26.

On Sunday, October 28—Premier Khrushchev broadcast the text of his reply. In addition to earlier instructions to discontinue further work on weapons construction sites, he said, the Soviet Government “has given a new order to dismantle the arms which you described as offensive, and to crate and return them to the Soviet Union.” The letter stated:

... As I had informed you in the letter of 27 October, we are prepared to reach agreement to enable U.N. representatives to verify the dismantling of these means. Thus in view of the assurances you have given and our instructions on dismantling, there is every condition for eliminating the present conflict.

Premier Khrushchev sent a copy of this message to U Thant “to enable you to familiarize yourself with our position, which we regard as exhaustive and which will help you to discharge your noble functions.” At the same time, he informed the United States and the United Nations, that in connection with the negotiations U Thant was conducting with Representatives of the U.S.S.R., the United

States, and Cuba, the Soviet Government was sending First Deputy Foreign Minister V. V. Kuznetsov to New York to help U Thant in his "noble efforts aimed at eliminating the present dangerous situation."

President Kennedy replied at once to the broadcast message of October 28 even before the official text reached him, and welcomed it as "an important contribution to peace."

The distinguished efforts of Acting Secretary General U Thant have greatly facilitated both our tasks. I consider my letter to you of October twenty-seventh and your reply of today as firm undertakings on the part of both our governments which should be promptly carried out. I hope that the necessary measures can at once be taken through the United Nations, as your message says, so that the United States in turn will be able to remove the quarantine measures now in effect. I have already made arrangements to report all these matters to the Organization of American States, whose members share a deep interest in a genuine peace in the Caribbean area.

I agree with you that we must devote urgent attention to the problem of disarmament . . . . I think we should give priority to questions relating to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, on earth and in outer space, and to the great effort for a nuclear test ban. But we should also work hard to see if wider measures of disarmament can be agreed to and put into operation at an early date. The United States Government will be prepared to discuss these questions urgently, and in a constructive spirit, at Geneva or elsewhere.

A U.S. statement issued the same day welcomed the Khrushchev response and stated: "We shall be in touch with the Secretary General of the United Nations with respect to reciprocal measures to assure peace in the Caribbean area."

*Negotiations at the United Nations.* Meanwhile steps continued in New York to reach agreement on practical means of avoiding conflict at sea and on arrangements to carry out the Secretary-General's suggestion for stopping work on the offensive bases and screening further shipments as conditions of suspending the quarantine.

The initial aim of the Secretary-General was to avoid an incident at sea. What concerned him most, he had written on October 25 to Premier Khrushchev, was that a confrontation at sea between Soviet ships and U.S. vessels "would destroy any possibility of the discussions I have suggested as a prelude to negotiations on a peaceful settlement." He therefore asked that Soviet ships already on their way to Cuba be instructed to stay away from the interception area for a limited time in order "to permit discussions of the modalities of a possible agreement." On October 26 the Secretary-General addressed a parallel letter to President Kennedy, informing him of his approach to Premier Khrushchev and requesting that "instructions may be issued to United States vessels in the Caribbean to do everything pos-

sible to avoid direct confrontation with Soviet ships in the next few days in order to minimize the risk of any untoward incident." He expressed the further hope that such cooperation could be the prelude to a quick agreement in principle on the basis of which the quarantine measures could be called off as soon as possible.

Premier Khrushchev accepted the proposal and "ordered the masters of Soviet vessels bound for Cuba . . . to stay out of the interception area, as you recommend." President Kennedy welcomed U Thant's efforts for a satisfactory solution and stated that if the Soviet Government accepts and abides by his request that Soviet ships already on their way to Cuba stay out of the interception area during the period of preliminary discussions "you may be assured that this Government will accept and abide by your request that our vessels in the Caribbean 'do everything possible to avoid direct confrontation with Soviet ships in the next few days in order to minimize the risk of any untoward incident.'" At the same time the President noted that this was a matter of great urgency in view of the fact that certain Soviet ships were still proceeding toward Cuba and the interception area.

#### SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

*Screening Shipments to Cuba.* As the White House statement on October 27 made clear, the urgent preliminary to the consideration of any proposals for a solution was that work on the Cuban bases stop, the offensive weapons be rendered inoperable, and further shipment of weapons to Cuba must cease—all under effective international verification. It was understood, of course, that subsequently means would have to be found to get the missiles and other offensive weapons removed, to get their removal verified, and to institute adequate safeguards against their reintroduction.

The immediate concern of the negotiators in New York, during the initial phase, was to work out a system for incoming shipments to insure that no further offensive weapons were being introduced. The United Nations asked the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to serve as its agent in inspecting incoming vessels to make sure that no more Soviet weapons were coming into Cuba. The operation would be expected to continue for about 1 month and would be entrusted to some 30 inspectors which the ICRC would undertake to recruit. Paul Ruegger, former president of the ICRC, arrived in New York early in November to discuss with the United Nations whether and under what circumstances the ICRC could undertake this task. In releases issued in Geneva on November 5 and 13, the ICRC pointed out that the organization could participate in the plan



only with the formal agreement of "the three parties concerned." The statement issued by the ICRC on November 13 explained that "eventual action by the ICRC would be based on previous consent being given by the three states concerned" and the methods of control would have to be clarified in future discussions. Premier Castro refused to give his consent to the proposed scheme. Before final arrangements could be made it was, in any event, realized that the system envisaged would no longer be required and that the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere could rely on other means, including air surveillance, to guard against new shipments of offensive weapons.

*Habana Talks.* The main obstacle to progress on establishing the conditions for a settlement was the attitude of the Cuban Government. On October 26 U Thant wrote Premier Castro renewing his appeal that Castro direct that "the construction and development of major military facilities and installations in Cuba, and especially installations designed to launch medium-range and intermediate-range ballistic missiles, be suspended during the period of negotiations which are now underway."

Premier Castro's reply came the next day and proved to be a hedged acceptance. He rejected "the presumption of the United States to determine what action we are entitled to take within our country, what kind of arms we consider appropriate for our defense." Cuba was prepared to accept "the compromises that you request as efforts in favor of peace, provided that at the same time, while negotiations are in progress, the United States Government desists from threats and aggressive actions against Cuba, including the naval blockade of the country." Read literally, Premier Castro was saying that he would consider the suspension only at the price of ending the quarantine. At the same time, his letter contained another note: "... Should you consider it useful to the cause of peace, our government would be glad to receive you in our country as Secretary-General of the United Nations, with a view to direct discussions on the present crisis."

U Thant replied the next day noting that Castro was prepared to accept the suggestion he had made provided the United States Government "desists from threats . . . against Cuba including the naval blockade" while negotiations were in progress. He accepted the invitation to visit Cuba early in the coming week—and to "bring a few aides with me to leave some of them behind to continue our common effort towards a peaceful solution of the problem." To facilitate his task the United States had agreed to suspend its naval quarantine and aerial surveillance during the Secretary-General's visit to Habana.

At this point, the United Nations was working on the assumption that the visit to Cuba would be concerned with working out modalities of U.N. observation and inspection and "reciprocal measures to assure the peace in the Caribbean."

The issue was further clouded by Premier Castro's "statement of conditions" issued in Habana on October 28. "The guarantees of which President Kennedy speaks against the invasion of Cuba will not exist without the elimination also of the naval blockade," he declared, "and adoption, among others, of the following measures:"

1. End of the economic blockade and "all measures of commercial and economic pressure" exercised by the United States against Cuba;
2. End of "all subversive activities" and the organization or support of invasions;
3. End of "pirate attacks" from bases in the United States and Puerto Rico;
4. End of "violations of air and naval space" by the United States;
5. U.S. withdrawal from the naval base at Guantanamo and its "return to Cuba."

This statement of conditions was clearly unacceptable and adumbrated the intransigent position that the Cuban authorities would take during the Habana talks. U Thant and a party of 19, including Brigadier General Rikhye and a small military staff, flew to Habana on October 30 and for 2 days discussed with Cuban leaders arrangements for U.N. supervision of the removal of the offensive weapons and other modalities for carrying out the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement of October 27-28. Although general agreement was reached that the United Nations should participate in settlement of the Cuban crisis and the talks were characterized as "fruitful," the Cuban authorities balked at all proposals for U.N. inspection of weapons removal and safeguards against their reintroduction. Premier Castro reiterated the five demands he had made in his October 28 statement. These demands were obviously beyond the scope of the Secretary-General's purpose in negotiating with the Cubans, and no agreement was reached. The Secretary-General and his party returned to New York October 31, where, it was understood, talks between the Secretary-General and Cuban Representatives would continue.

Premier Castro, however, did state that he would not interfere with the Soviet removal of the missiles. The missiles are "not ours," he said in a radio speech on November 1 in which he reported on his talks with U Thant, but he rejected any form of international inspection on the withdrawal of Soviet weapons. He specifically turned down a proposal that the ICRC carry out the inspection task. He also rejected any form of U.N. inspection, such as on-the-spot ob-

servation by U.N. inspectors of the dismantling of missile sites and verification that offensive weapons were not being reintroduced. On Friday November 2, Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas I. Mikoyan arrived in New York on his way to Habana and issued a statement supporting Premier Castro's demands and warmly endorsing the Cuban regime.

*Island Surveillance and Dismantling of Soviet Missile Bases Continued.* When U Thant left Habana without a mutually satisfactory formula, President Kennedy ordered resumption of the quarantine on shipping to Cuba and authorized resumption of close aerial surveillance of the island to determine whether dismantling of Soviet missile bases was proceeding as reported by Soviet officials. On the evening of November 2 the President reported in a short television and radio broadcast that the "Soviet missile bases in Cuba are being dismantled, their missiles and related equipment are being crated and the fixed installations at these sites are being destroyed." The President said the information was based on aerial photographs and added that the United States intended to follow closely the completion of this work through various means, including aerial surveillance, until "an equally satisfactory international means of verification is effected." He also said that while the quarantine remained in effect, he was hopeful that adequate procedures could be developed for international inspection of Cuba-bound cargoes. The ICRC could be "an appropriate agent" for carrying out this inspection.

*New York Negotiations: Verification and IL-28s.* Meanwhile, talks proceeded in New York between Ambassadors Stevenson and McCloy for the United States and Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov for the Soviet Union. Apart from working out the details of the scheme for ICRC inspection of incoming shipments (see page 119), the negotiators spent the next 3 weeks in considering two main issues. Until November 12 the central concern of the negotiators was to make sure that the offensive missile system had left Cuba and to work out a satisfactory system for verification that dismantling and removal had in fact taken place. Associated with this issue was the problem of longer term safeguards against the reintroduction of offensive weapons. From November 12 to 20 the focus of negotiation shifted to the problem of removal of the Soviet IL-28 bombers from Cuba.

On verification, it was clear that what the President had termed "an equally satisfactory international means of verification" required an adequate U.N. system of inspection to make sure that the offensive weapons had in fact been removed, to guard against hiding, and to prevent reintroduction of such weapons. Various schemes were con-



sidered and the U.S.S.R. made clear its willingness to have U.N. verification take place. Premier Castro adamantly refused to accept any form of verification in Cuba by the United Nations or for removal of the weapons under U.N. auspices. U.S. negotiators continued to make it clear to the Soviet negotiators that U.S. aerial surveillance would continue so long as there was no adequate U.N. system of inspection. When it became clear that Premier Castro would not give his consent to U.N. inspection or verification of shipments from Cuban ports, the negotiators turned to devising a system for U.S. inspection at sea of outgoing ships carrying the dismantled missiles. The U.S. naval vessels would come "alongside" departing Soviet vessels which would be loaded in such a way as to enable the U.S. vessels to see and count the missiles and associated equipment. Rapid progress was made in dismantling and loading the missiles and by November 10 the United States had counted and observed 42 ballistic missiles departing by this procedure. Failing to secure U.N. verification and safeguards, the United States continued its own system of surveillance under the existing OAS resolution in order to make sure that offensive weapons were not reintroduced.

On November 12, with the missiles removed, the U.S. negotiators took up again the question of the removal of IL-28s and made it clear that the United States could not consider lifting the quarantine until the bombers were withdrawn. The Soviets claimed they had fulfilled their part of the bargain by dismantling and removing the missiles and were pressing for a lifting of the quarantine and a U.S. non-invasion pledge.

The U.S. position was that the bombers were defined as offensive weapons in the Presidential proclamation of October 23 and that they were included as such in the Kennedy-Khrushchev exchange of October 27-28. The United States made it clear that it could not consider lifting the quarantine until the Soviets agreed to remove the IL-28s within a short time.

*Partial Settlement: November 20.* On November 20, Premier Castro informed U Thant that if the Soviets wished to remove the bombers he would not object. That day an agreement was reached between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev under which the IL-28s would be withdrawn. U Thant was notified the same day by Ambassador Stevenson and Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov. Soviet agreement to remove the bombers paved the way for the lifting of the quarantine. The partial settlement had been accomplished in just 4 weeks.

At his press conference that evening, President Kennedy announced that he had that day been informed by Premier Khrushchev that all

of the IL-28 bombers in Cuba would be withdrawn in 30 days, and that these planes could be observed and counted as they departed. "Inasmuch as this goes a long way towards reducing the danger which faced this hemisphere four weeks ago," the President announced, "I have this afternoon instructed the Secretary of Defense to lift our naval quarantine." The President then recalled the understandings he had reached with Premier Khrushchev on October 27-28. The President stated, "Chairman Khrushchev, it will be recalled, agreed to remove from Cuba all weapons systems capable of offensive use, to halt the further introduction of such weapons into Cuba, and to permit appropriate United Nations observation and supervision to insure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments. We, on our part, agreed that once these adequate arrangements for verification had been established we would remove our naval quarantine and give assurances against invasion of Cuba." Evidence to date indicated that all known offensive missile sites had been dismantled, he stated, and inspection at sea of departing Soviet ships confirmed that the number of missiles reported by the Soviet Union as having been brought into Cuba had been removed. In addition, he noted, the Soviet Government had stated that all nuclear weapons had been withdrawn from Cuba and "no offensive weapons will be reintroduced." But, he warned, "important parts" of the understanding "remain to be carried out. The Cuban Government has not yet permitted the United Nations to verify whether all offensive weapons have been removed, and no lasting safeguards have yet been established against the future introduction of offensive weapons back into Cuba." The United States, therefore, had no choice but to pursue its own means of checking on military activities in Cuba. The United States, he said, is prepared to continue its efforts to achieve "adequate international arrangements for the task of inspection and verification in Cuba." Later, in reply to a question, he defined adequate safeguards as "an inspection which would provide us with assurances that there are not on the island weapons capable of offensive action against the United States or neighboring countries and that they will not be reintroduced."

Regarding assurances against invasion, the President stated:

As for our part, if all offensive weapons are removed from Cuba and kept out of the hemisphere in the future, under adequate verification and safeguards, and if Cuba is not used for the export of aggressive Communist purposes, there will be peace in the Caribbean. And as I said in September, we shall neither initiate nor permit aggression in this hemisphere.

The United States, he stressed, would not abandon the political, economic, and other efforts of this hemisphere to halt subversion from

Cuba nor its purpose and hope that the Cuban people shall some day be truly free. "But these policies are very different from any intent to launch a military invasion of the island."

*Inter-American Quarantine Force Terminates Operations.* Following the lifting of the quarantine, the three governments whose naval units had participated in the inter-American combined quarantine force—i.e., Argentina, Dominican Republic, and the United States—notified the COAS/OC on November 30 that the operations of the quarantine force had been terminated. During this period, it had not been necessary to take up the offers of airport and seaport facilities and other types of assistance made by other hemispheric governments. But the offers represented important manifestations of hemispheric determination and solidarity.

As the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union in New York progressed, the United States kept the COAS/OC fully informed of developments. The COAS/OC in the meantime withheld taking any further action with regard to the crisis until these talks were completed.

*Continued U.S.-U.S.S.R. Negotiations.* By December 6 the Soviet Government carried out its promise to withdraw the 42 IL-28 bombers, their removal being confirmed by aerial reconnaissance and by along-side observation at sea on the decks of the Soviet ships carrying them back to the U.S.S.R. No progress, however, was made during the rest of the month in achieving the "adequate international arrangements for the task of inspection and verification in Cuba" that the President had mentioned on November 20, and which were part of the original understanding. Deputy Premier Mikoyan's 3-hour conversations with President Kennedy on November 29 and with the Secretary of State on November 30 did not advance the final solution. The question was turned over again to the delegations in New York.

*Soviet Troop Withdrawal.* The withdrawal of Soviet military personnel from Cuba was also a matter of deep concern to the United States. As the President stated at his press conference of November 20, U.S. vigilance is underlined by "our identification in recent days of a number of Soviet ground combat units in Cuba." These and other Soviet units, we were informed, "were associated with the protection of offensive weapons systems and will also be withdrawn in due course."

#### SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION CONCLUDED

The formula for terminating Security Council consideration of the Cuban crisis was finally agreed between the Governments of the



United States and the Soviet Union on January 7, 1963. The two Governments agreed to send a joint letter to the Secretary-General which he, in turn, transmitted to the Security Council for the information of its members. The text of the letter read:

On behalf of the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, we desire to express to you our appreciation for your efforts in assisting our Governments to avert the serious threat to the peace which recently arose in the Caribbean area.

While it has not been possible for our Governments to resolve all the problems that have arisen in connection with this affair, they believe that, in view of the degree of understanding reached between them on the settlement of the crisis and the extent of progress in the implementation of this understanding, it is not necessary for this item to occupy further the attention of the Security Council at this time.

The Governments of the United States of America and of the Soviet Union express the hope that the actions taken to avert the threat of war in connection with this crisis will lead toward the adjustment of other differences between them and the general easing of tensions that could cause a further threat of war.

The same day, January 7, 1963, the Cuban Representative addressed a letter to the Secretary-General, which he requested be transmitted to U.N. members, expressing a dissenting view on the conclusion of the affair. Cuba, the letter declared, "does not consider as effective any agreement other than one which would include the consideration of the five points or measures which, as minimum guarantees to peace in the Caribbean, our Prime Minister Fidel Castro stresses in his declaration of 28 October, 1962. . . ."

As the Security Council concluded its consideration of the Cuban item, the situation remained as follows:

1. The Soviet Union had withdrawn its offensive missiles, its bombers, and some of its military personnel. The United States and participating American Republics had lifted the quarantine.

2. The Cubans had refused to accept on-site inspection and post-removal verification or to agree on a system of continuing safeguards against reintroduction of offensive weapons under U.N. auspices.

3. In the absence of adequate inspection and safeguards, the United States continued other methods of surveillance of military activities in Cuba in the interests of hemispheric security.

4. The continued presence of Soviet military personnel in Cuba constituted an unacceptable intervention by a foreign military power in the Western Hemisphere. Efforts continued with the U.S.S.R. to obtain their removal.

5. The United States continued to be seriously concerned about Cuban subversive efforts directed against other American Republics.

6. The U.S. position with regard to assurance against invasion remained that stated by the President on November 20 as outlined above.

7. With the conclusion of the New York talks and the joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. letter terminating Security Council consideration of the matter, responsibility for further action remained with the OAS Organ of Consultation in its hemispheric context.

#### COMPLEMENTARY ROLES OF BILATERAL, REGIONAL, AND U.N. DIPLOMACY

The Cuban affair demonstrated the utility and possibilities for interaction of the various diplomatic and military instruments available to the United States in a crisis. Orchestration of bilateral diplomacy, regional arrangements, and the U.N. system marked the handling of the crisis throughout. In particular the Cuban affair represented a unique demonstration of coordination between a regional system and the world organization, with diplomatic action being taken in the OAS and the United Nations, depending on the task to be performed and the governments directly involved. The OAS system successfully met the test of workability by demonstrating conclusively the solidarity and determination of the American Republics when their security is endangered. The rapid, decisive action taken by the American Republics under the Rio Treaty strengthened the hand of the United States in making its case before world opinion, in dealing in the U.N. Security Council with the crisis, and in negotiating with the Soviets.

The United Nations played a threefold role: as a forum for exposing Soviet duplicity and for enlisting diplomatic support of the U.S. position; as an instrument for international consultation and as a site for negotiation; and, as an institution willing and able, on short notice, to provide inspection and verification services.

1. The United Nations provided an unparalleled forum for presenting the facts of the Soviet offensive buildup directly to representatives of 109 nations and through communications media directly to world public opinion. Ambassador Stevenson's speeches of October 23 and 25 in the Security Council, together with the photographs and explanations to delegations both inside and outside the chamber, presented incontrovertible evidence in a dramatic and effective manner and thus helped in convincing the world of the facts. In addition the United Nations provided a forum in which the American Republics could impress on the world and on the Secretary-General their solidarity on this issue.

2. The Secretary-General provided an effective point of contact—notably in the tense days at the outset of the crisis—and valuable

suggestions for avoiding direct confrontation. The Secretary-General's intervention on the second day of the Security Council debate, in which he called for suspension of arms shipments and of construction and development of military installations in exchange for suspension of the quarantine, led to the formula under which Soviet ships stayed away from the interception area. It was on that condition the United States agreed to do everything possible to avoid direct confrontation.

3. The United Nations proved that it was ready and able to put inspectors into Cuba to make sure that offensive weapons had been removed. Thus, the U.N. machinery was available to provide for the critical task of inspection and verification. Premier Khrushchev gave unprecedented agreement to the idea of U.N. inspection and verification of arms removal *on the spot*. But Castro's refusal to cooperate with the United Nations prevented the U.N. machinery from being put into operation.

Both the United Nations and the OAS proved their utility and vigor, and emerged stronger from the ordeal.

### *Hungary*

Since 1956 when the Hungarian national uprising was brutally suppressed by the massive intervention of Soviet armed forces, the General Assembly has taken action in various forms in an attempt to relieve the situation of the Hungarian people. The Assembly has passed a series of resolutions censuring the U.S.S.R. and Hungary for their part in suppressing the uprising and for their noncompliance with U.N. resolutions. In addition the General Assembly has appointed a Special Committee and two U.N. Representatives to look into and report on the situation in Hungary. Finally, the General Assembly has made it a practice since 1956 to take "no decision" on the credentials of the Hungarian delegates as a continuing mark of dissatisfaction with the Hungarian Government. As a result the Representatives of Hungary have since that time been seated only on a provisional basis.

During its 16th session the General Assembly passed a resolution which drew attention to the report submitted by the U.N. Representative on Hungary, Sir Leslie Munro, and deplored "the continued disregard by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present Hungarian regime of the General Assembly resolutions concerning the situation in Hungary."

In a letter dated August 17, 1962, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, requested that "the question of Hungary"



again be inscribed on the agenda. He pointed out in a memorandum accompanying his letter that, since the events of 1956 in Hungary, the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and of Hungary had failed so far to cooperate with the United Nations and its appointed representatives; nor had they taken any satisfactory steps to enable the United Nations to progress toward its fundamental objective of ameliorating the situation of the Hungarian people and resolving the longstanding issue in the United Nations. In view of the continuing situation, his Government believed that the question of Hungary merited further discussion by the General Assembly.

On September 19 the General Assembly's General Committee, after having heard the objections of the Representative of Hungary, recommended to the General Assembly the inclusion of the item on Hungary in the agenda. During the debate in plenary meeting on September 24 the Representative of Hungary objected to the inclusion of this item on the agenda, declaring that discussion of the question was outside the competence of the United Nations and that in proposing it the United States was pursuing cold war policies. The General Assembly, however, decided to place the Hungarian item on the agenda by a vote of 43 (U.S.) to 34 (Soviet bloc (9)), with 19 abstentions. The item was referred to the General Assembly's Special Political Committee for consideration and report.

On September 25 the U.N. Representative on Hungary circulated copies of his fourth report to the General Assembly. His report concluded that, while no change had occurred in the basic situation with regard to Hungary, a "movement in the direction of relaxation" with a resulting degree of liberalization had taken place within that country. He found that in spite of a modest alleviation of conditions within Hungary, the core of the problem remains and that "The Question of Hungary" is one of continuing importance and involves a question of principle." "The resolutions of the General Assembly," in his view, "are a firm expression of its objectives, and it is essential that the facts of the situation be kept before the world." As in the past, the Hungarian Representative registered his Government's customary complaint against Sir Leslie's report in a letter to the President of the General Assembly—this year on September 28, 1962—and asked him to circulate a counterstatement which was enclosed with the letter.

On December 18, 1962, the Special Political Committee met to consider the question of Hungary. The Committee had before it a draft resolution submitted by the United States. Referring to the report of the U.N. Representative on Hungary, the draft resolution: noted with concern the fact that the U.S.S.R. and Hungary had not given

him the cooperation necessary for the full discharge of his responsibilities; reaffirmed the objectives of past U.N. resolutions on Hungary, and in its operative paragraphs requested "the Secretary-General to take any initiative that he deems helpful in relation to the Hungarian question"; considered that "in the circumstances the position of the United Nations Representative on Hungary need no longer be continued"; and expressed its "appreciation to Sir Leslie Munro, the United Nations Representative on Hungary, for the efforts he has made in discharging his responsibilities relating to the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions on Hungary."

This resolution was adopted by the Committee by a vote of 43 (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Malaya, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, the U.K., the U.S., and Venezuela), to 14 against (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia), with 32 abstentions (Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, China, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Finland, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, and the U.A.R.).

During the debate which preceded the voting, the U.S. Representative, Carl Rowan, recalled "those fateful autumn days of 1956, when the Security Council met to deal with a situation whose portent was foreboding." He traced the history of U.N. actions on Hungary and emphasized the fact that "Soviet and Hungarian authorities have refused to cooperate with either the U.N., its appointed representatives, or anyone else seeking to improve the situation in Hungary." The U.S. resolution, he declared, would bring "a new approach" to this problem, one which "maintains U.N. responsibility and U.N. concern for those fundamental principles that have always guided consideration of this question." "Our purpose" he said, "is to seek to improve the situation of the Hungarian people by the most effective, practical and honorable means available to us within the framework of the U.N." At the same time he announced the U.S. intention to urge again that "no decision" be taken on Hungarian credentials as an expression of "the Assembly's dissatisfaction with and disapproval of the actions and attitudes of the Hungarian Government."

The Representatives of Australia, Colombia, Denmark, and France expressed the view that the U.S. draft resolution was a constructive step in the direction toward a solution of the Hungarian problem. The Hungarian and Soviet Representatives, as in past years, adhered to the position that discussion of the Hungarian item should be dropped, since in their view it constituted interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state and violated principles of the U.N. Charter. The U.N. Representative on Hungary also spoke before the Committee to express his gratitude to all those who had assisted him in the performance of his work. He stressed the fact that since 1958 "neither the Soviet Union nor the Hungarian authorities have shown the slightest willingness to acknowledge the validity of the Assembly's resolutions." He hoped, nonetheless, "that the Secretary-General, whose devotion to peace and respect for human rights were well known, would be successful in his efforts" and he expressed his willingness to help the United Nations whenever called upon to do so.

On December 20 the General Assembly adopted the U.S. resolution by a vote of 50 (U.S.) to 13 (Soviet bloc (10), Cuba, Guinea, and Yugoslavia), with 43 abstentions. The affirmative vote was the same as in Committee but with the addition of seven nations (Bolivia, El Salvador, Haiti, Jamaica, Luxembourg, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay), who had been absent when the Committee met.

The Credentials Committee met on December 19 and voted 5 (Canada, El Salvador, Greece, Mexico, and the U.S.) to 4 (Guinea, Indonesia, Nigeria, and U.S.S.R.), to take "no decision" on Hungarian credentials. On the following day the Assembly voted to accept the Committee's report, thereby continuing to express its dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Hungarian Government.

## *Kashmir*

### **Background of the Dispute**

The disposition of Kashmir has been a matter of dispute between India and Pakistan for more than 14 years. This dispute originated at the time of partition of the subcontinent when India and Pakistan became independent nations in August 1947. Almost immediately thereafter, the princely states of Jammu and Kashmir (commonly called Kashmir) became the scene of armed struggle. At that time the more than 500 princely states of the subcontinent were given the choice of joining either India or Pakistan. That choice was, in most cases, easily made on the basis of geographic proximity and the preponder-



ance of Hindu or Moslem population. Kashmir, however, is contiguous to both India and Pakistan, with a mixed, though predominantly Moslem, population. Its disposition immediately became an object of contention which led to armed hostilities late in 1947.

The dispute was first brought before the Security Council on January 1, 1948, when India brought a complaint to the Council charging Pakistan with aggression in Kashmir. Pakistan denied the charges and submitted a countercomplaint which, *inter alia*, charged India with aggression by occupying the states of Manavadar and Junagadh which had acceded to Pakistan. On January 20, 1948, the Security Council adopted a resolution which established a three-nation U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) to investigate the facts in the dispute and to place its good offices and mediation at the disposal of the two governments.

On April 21, 1948, the Security Council adopted an important resolution which provided for the restoration of peace and the holding of a plebiscite in the area. The resolution also increased the UNCIP to five states (Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, and the United States) and noted "with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite." Both parties objected to portions of the resolution but did not oppose the dispatch of the UNCIP.

After months of negotiations, the UNCIP succeeded in obtaining a cease-fire on January 1, 1949. It also obtained the agreement of both parties to the principles of a truce and a plebiscite contained in the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949. On August 13, 1948, the UNCIP adopted a resolution which provided for a cease-fire and a truce agreement including the withdrawal of Pakistani troops, tribesmen, intruding Pakistani nationals, and the bulk of the Indian troops. The resolution also reaffirmed the wishes of the two Governments that the future status of the state should be determined in accordance with the will of the people. The resolution was accepted as a whole by India and with reservations by Pakistan. A January 5, 1949, UNCIP resolution provided for the principles to govern a fair and equitable plebiscite. It provided that the Secretary-General should nominate a plebiscite administrator in agreement with the UNCIP, but that his appointment should be made by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

These resolutions have served as the basis of all U.N. efforts to resolve this problem. The major stumbling blocks that have prevented a solution along the lines proposed by the United Nations have centered around (1) the nature and number of forces to remain

after the signing of a truce; and (2) the date and circumstances surrounding the appointment of a plebiscite administrator. Subsequent efforts to implement the UNCIP resolutions by the Council's appointment as U.N. Representative for India and Pakistan of Sir Owen Dixon of Australia for a brief period in 1950 and of Dr. Frank P. Graham in 1951, as well as of U.N. Special Representative, Ambassador Jarring, in 1957, achieved little significant progress. The matter was considered actively again in 1957 by the Security Council and by Dr. Graham who visited both countries in 1958 in an effort to find a solution. Although bilateral exploration for a mutually acceptable solution has been undertaken from time to time, these efforts have also been unsuccessful.

### Resumed Security Council Consideration

In a letter to the President of the Security Council dated January 11, 1962, Pakistan requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider further action in the Kashmir dispute in light of the last report of the U.N. Representative for India and Pakistan (Dr. Graham). The letter pointed out that Pakistan felt constrained to make this request because efforts at the highest level for direct negotiations with India had failed and because recent statements by responsible people in India were considered by Pakistan "a grave threat to the maintenance of peace in that region."

In a letter of January 15, 1962, to the President of the Security Council India stated in response that the Security Council should refuse to comply with Pakistan's request because India considered that the eve of its general elections was not the proper time for direct negotiations. India also stated that Pakistan's allegations that efforts for direct negotiations had failed and that a threat to the peace had arisen were unfounded. So far as India was concerned, the avenues for direct negotiations had not been finally closed. Moreover, it was Pakistan which was threatening peace in the area by the instigation of attempts at subversion and sabotage.

In a second letter to the Security Council dated January 29 Pakistan again stated that a very grave situation prevailed between India and Pakistan which called for immediate consideration by the Security Council. With the recent statements by responsible Indian leaders, which seemed to Pakistan to indicate that there had been a significant reversal of Indian policy with reference to the Kashmir dispute, the situation was "precarious," and therefore the Government of Pakistan requested the Council to take up the question as an "urgent matter."

On February 1, 1962, the Security Council agreed, without objection, to include the item in its agenda and heard statements by the

Representatives of India and Pakistan. Further consideration of the matter was deferred until after the general elections in India. After these elections, the Council held a series of meetings from April 27 to May 4 at which it heard statements by the Representatives of Pakistan and of India and by Council members. The Council resumed consideration of the question on June 15 and concluded its debate on June 22.

### Debate in the Security Council

During the debate, the Representative of Pakistan stated that it was necessary to make progress on the implementation of the two UNCIP resolutions in order to improve relations between the two countries, maintaining that these resolutions having been accepted by both parties had formed an internal obligation and should be implemented in good faith. The people of Kashmir, he stated, had been given an assurance to that effect by the Security Council and should not be deprived of their inherent right of self-determination. Pakistan would agree to any method of determining the obligations of the parties under the two UNCIP resolutions and of determining what needed to be done by either side to advance the matter.

The Representative of India stated that there was no urgency whatsoever for the Council to consider the Kashmir question. No new factor had emerged in relation to Kashmir since the last meeting of the Security Council in 1957, and there was no threat of use of force by India as alleged by Pakistan. The Indian Representative stated that the accession of Kashmir to India was full and complete and if that accession had to be altered, both the acceding side and the receiving side had to agree. Furthermore, the conditions for holding a plebiscite had not yet been fulfilled, since Pakistan, which was supposed to withdraw all its troops and "vacate" its aggression, had not yet done so.

The majority of members of the Security Council welcomed the assurances of the two parties that they would not resort to force and urged them to negotiate directly for a peaceful solution. The Representatives of Chile, China, France, Ireland, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Venezuela emphasized the Security Council's responsibility in the dispute and stated that a solution should be found on the basis of the Council's previous resolutions. The Representatives of Ghana and the United Arab Republic stated that efforts should be made to find a solution acceptable to both parties. They added that the parties alone could solve the question and that they could do so within the framework of the U.N. Charter. The Representative of the U.S.S.R. stated that the allegations made by Pakistan



regarding threats by India had proved to be groundless and India had once again assured the Council that it was not going to use force. In addition, he said, Kashmir was an integral part of India; the people of Kashmir had on numerous occasions expressed their will through general elections. Therefore, the Council could do nothing better than take note with satisfaction of the statement that force would not be used in the Kashmir region. The U.S. Representative emphasized that "we all have a duty to persevere in our search for a solution of this dispute"—a dispute which was threatening the relations between the two countries as well as the peace of the subcontinent. He said the United States considered that the best approach was to take for a point of departure the "area of common ground" which existed between the two parties—the resolutions of the UNCIP which provided for demilitarization of Kashmir and for a plebiscite on the future status of the territory. Therefore, the United States supported the suggestion in Dr. Graham's report that a high-level conference be held by the parties, with exploratory talks beforehand. By removing their dispute, the parties could set an example for statesmen everywhere and could contribute significantly to the cause of world peace. A prompt settlement of this dispute was necessary for the peace and security of all of South Asia, the U.S. Representative stated.

#### **Draft Resolution of June 22**

On June 22 Ireland submitted a draft resolution whereby the Security Council, having heard statements from the Representatives of India and Pakistan, having considered the report of the U.N. Representative, Dr. Graham, having noted with satisfaction the pledges made by the two parties that their Governments would not resort to force, and being conscious of the Council's responsibility under the Charter for helping the parties to reach a peaceful solution, would remind both parties of the principles contained in its resolution of January 12, 1948, and in the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949; urge the Governments of India and Pakistan to enter into negotiations on the question at the earliest convenient time with the view to its ultimate settlement in accordance with article 33 (article 33 concerns the pacific settlement of disputes), and other relevant provisions of the Charter; appeal to the two Governments to take all possible measures to insure the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere favorable to the promotion of negotiations; urge the Governments of India and Pakistan to refrain from making any statements, or taking any action, which might aggravate the situation; and request the Secretary-General to provide the two Governments with such services

as they might request for the purpose of carrying out the terms of the resolution.

In introducing his resolution, the Representative of Ireland said that in his view it represented the widest possible measure of common agreement existing at that stage of the discussion in the Council. The Representative of India, however, stated that his country was against any resolution being adopted by the Council at that time because it would have no relevance to the situation. The Soviet Representative stated that the draft resolution was being presented chiefly with a view to holding a plebiscite which at that moment would constitute a flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of India. Instead of recalling decisions which were not applicable at the present time, he felt the Council should have limited itself to noting that India and Pakistan had stated that they would not take any initiative in the use of force and that neither party had rejected the idea of bilateral negotiations.

The draft resolution received 7 votes in favor, 2 against (Rumania, and U.S.S.R.), and 2 abstentions (Ghana and U.A.R.). It was, therefore, not adopted in view of the negative vote of the U.S.S.R., a permanent member of the Security Council. (It was on this occasion, as pointed out by the U.S. Representative, that the U.S.S.R. cast its 100th veto in the Security Council.)

## *Korea*

### **Armistice Meetings**

During 1962 the Korean Armistice Agreement, concluded in July 1953, remained in effect and the Military Armistice Commission (MAC) continued to meet, bringing the total number of such meetings to 162. As they had done in previous years, the Communists sought to utilize the MAC meetings to raise political and propaganda issues outside the scope of the Commission's responsibilities. Representatives of the U.N. Command (UNC) blocked these efforts, refuted in detail Communist allegations of U.N. violations of the Armistice Agreement, and protested Communist violations.

Upon interrogating captured members of a special reconnaissance squad in September, the UNC learned for the first time that the Communists had launched a drive to kidnap UNC personnel, including U.S. soldiers. At least four Korean personnel of the U.N. Command were taken captive in July and such an attempt may have been contemplated in November when a UNC observation post was attacked,

resulting in the death of a U.S. soldier. The U.N. Command protested these incidents in the MAC to no avail.

### **U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK)**

The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), consisting of Representatives of Australia, Chile, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey, also continued its work, functioning primarily—as it has done since 1956—through a Committee consisting of Representatives of Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey with headquarters in Seoul, Korea. In accordance with its terms of reference and the request contained in a General Assembly resolution passed on December 20, 1961, UNCURK submitted in September its 12th report covering the period from December 4, 1961, to September 1, 1962. On November 19, 1962, UNCURK submitted a supplementary report.

These reports pointed out that the efforts of UNCURK to promote U.N. objectives in Korea and to seek an early and proper settlement of the Korean question had been limited because of the persistent nonacceptance of the United Nations principles and resolutions for the unification of Korea by the North Korean authorities. UNCURK also noted the repeated assurances of the Government of the Republic of Korea that it would abide by its pledges to support a peaceful and democratic solution of the Korean question under U.N. principles. The reports described the main political developments in the Republic of Korea relating to the forthcoming elections and the return of the Government to civilian control. In contrast, the Commission noted that the persistence of the North Korean authorities in their nonacceptance of U.N. principles on Korea had precluded UNCURK's observation of elections in the north as authorized by the General Assembly.

### **Consideration at the Seventeenth General Assembly**

In a letter dated June 23, 1962, the Soviet Union requested the inclusion in the agenda of the 17th session of the General Assembly of the question "The withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea." In an attached explanatory memorandum the Soviet Union alleged that the presence of foreign troops in South Korea created a disturbed and tense situation in Korea; that the United States was building military installations on a large scale in South Korea; and that these foreign troops had provoked incidents along the southern border of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The memorandum further



alleged that since these foreign troops in South Korea were under the U.N. flag, their actions caused serious harm to the authority and prestige of the United Nations and concluded that the General Assembly should examine the question of withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

On September 24, 1962, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of its General Committee, decided to include the two items, "The Korean question; Report of the UNCURK" and "The withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea," as subitems of one agenda item entitled "The Korean Question" and allocated this item to the General Assembly's Political and Security (First) Committee for consideration and report. This was done over the objection of the Soviet Union which sought to keep the two items separate. The Soviet Union, which had also failed to obtain First Committee agreement to consider the Korean question before consideration of the outer space item, nevertheless, on a number of occasions during the debate on outer space attempted without success to persuade the First Committee to consider the problem of Korean representation before consideration of the outer space item had been completed.

The First Committee discussed the Korean item at nine meetings held between December 11 and 18, 1962. It began its debate by considering one Soviet and one U.S. draft resolution—each pertained to the question of seating Korean representatives for participation in the discussions of the Korean question. The Soviet draft resolution would have had the Committee recognize that "fruitful discussion" of the question was not possible without the participation of representatives of the Communist regime in the north and of the Republic of Korea and would have invited representatives of the Republic of Korea and the North Korean regime to participate, without vote, in the discussions. The U.S. resolution noted the continued rejection by the Communist regime of the competence and authority of the United Nations to take action on the Korean question and invited only a representative of the Republic of Korea to participate, without vote, in the discussion.

Speaking in support of the U.S. draft resolution, the U.S. Representative, Senator Gordon Allott, traced the contrasting history of the Republic of Korea and the North Korean regime with regard to their acceptance of the competence and authority of the United Nations to deal with the Korean question and noted the consistent record of cooperation by the Republic of Korea with the United Nations. On the other hand, it would be useless and absurd, he said, "to invite as participants in our debate those who reject in advance our right to make whatever decisions may result." He pointed to the fact that this

year, even before the Committee could discuss whether to renew its invitation of the previous year to the North Korean regime, which made the invitation contingent on unequivocal acceptance of the U.N. competence and authority to deal with the Korean question, the North Koreans have asserted once again (December 8) "that the United Nations has no right to discuss the Korean Question." Indeed on at least nine different occasions since 1959 spokesmen of the North Koreans have denied the right of the United Nations to deal with the matter.

The seating question was brought to a vote on December 11. The U.S. draft resolution was voted on first and was adopted by a vote of 65 to 9 (Soviet bloc), with 26 abstentions (Afghanistan, Algeria, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, U.A.R., and Yugoslavia). Subsequently, the Soviet draft resolution was rejected by a vote of 56 (U.S.) to 29 (Soviet bloc (9), Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, U.A.R., and Yugoslavia), with 14 abstentions.

In accordance with the Committee's decision the Representative of the Republic of Korea, Foreign Minister Choi Duk Shin, was invited on December 12 to take a seat at the Committee table. The Committee then proceeded to debate the substance of the Korean item. It had before it two draft resolutions. One, submitted by the U.S.S.R., urged that all the states that had troops in South Korea withdraw them from Korean territory and called upon the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea to make "every possible effort to bring about a rapprochement" between them by the establishment and development of economic, cultural, and other ties. The other draft resolution was submitted by 15 nations all of which had provided forces to help resist Communist aggression in Korea (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, the U.K., and the U.S.), and was similar to that adopted by the 16th General Assembly. This draft resolution noted the UNCURK report; reaffirmed the Assembly's previous resolutions on the question of Korea; noted that U.N. forces have in greater part already been withdrawn and that the governments concerned are prepared to withdraw those remaining when General Assembly conditions for a lasting settlement have been fulfilled; recalled that the United Nations under the Charter is empowered to take collective action to repel aggression, to restore peace and security, and to extend its good offices in seeking

a peaceful solution; reaffirmed U.N. objectives in Korea to bring about by peaceful means a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of peace and security to the area; called upon North Korean authorities to accept these objectives; urged continuing efforts to achieve them; and requested UNCURK to continue its work.

During the debate the Soviet Representative delivered a bitter speech citing alleged atrocities by American troops in South Korea and presenting a highly erroneous picture of the South Korean people suffering under the alleged oppression of U.S. troops. Following this, Foreign Minister Choi made it eloquently clear that the people of the Republic of Korea consider that their security and well-being depend on the presence of U.N. forces, including those from the United States. On the following day of debate the U.S. Representative challenged the charges made by the Soviet Representative, calling his picture of conditions in North and South Korea "highly imaginative." The U.S. Representative traced the measures and devices the Soviets and the North Koreans have used since the end of World War II to prevent the unification of Korea except under terms that would result in a Communist-dominated country. He concluded by calling for support of the 15-power draft resolution as a "reassertion of the principles and objectives which the General Assembly has established for a solution of the Korean problem."

After further debate the 15-power resolution was adopted by the First Committee on December 18 by a vote of 65 (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malaya, Mauritania, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, the U.K., the U.S., Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yemen) to 11 (Soviet bloc (10) and Cuba), with 26 abstentions (Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Mali, Nepal, Nigeria, Portugal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, U.A.R., and Yugoslavia). Faced with the adoption by a large majority of the 15-power resolution, the Soviet Representative announced he would not press the Soviet draft resolution to a vote. The follow-



ing day the General Assembly approved the 15-power resolution by a vote of 63 to 11, with 26 abstentions.

### *Oman*

On September 24, 1962, the General Assembly decided to include in its agenda "The Question of Oman." The Assembly acted at the request of 11 Arab states which in a memorandum dated June 28, 1962, recalled that the resolution passed by the General Assembly's Special Political Committee in 1961 recognized the right of the people of Oman to self-determination and independence, called for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Oman, and invited the parties concerned to settle peacefully their differences with a view to restoring normal conditions in Oman. (This resolution, however, had failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote in plenary.) The memorandum declared that renewed discussion of the problem had become necessary in 1962 because the United Kingdom had failed to take steps to end the conflict and continued its "repressive policy" in Oman. Subsequently the Sultan of Oman and Muscat protested to the United Nations against the inclusion of this item on its agenda. In a telegram dated October 25, 1962, the Sultan declared his opposition to any further debate of this question and asked that the Assembly prevent any further interference in the internal affairs of the Sultanate.

During the course of the debate in the Special Political Committee which took place November 19-28, 1962, and in which the United States did not intervene, Arab Representatives charged that the Oman problem was one of colonialism involving armed aggression by the United Kingdom against the independent state of Oman in behalf of the Sultan of Muscat whom they considered to be a British puppet. The U.K. Representative stated that there is no separate state of Oman, that the tribal rebellion there fomented from abroad in 1957 was now ended and peaceful conditions prevailed throughout the country, and that British forces which entered the country at the request of the Sultan had now been withdrawn. The Chilean Representative declared that it was difficult to take any position at all on the question because there was so little information available about Oman and Muscat, and the parties concerned in the dispute gave such widely varying accounts of conditions prevailing within the Sultanate. He asked if the Committee could not obtain fuller and more objective information about the situation so that it would be in a better position next year to make a decision on this question. Similar views were later expressed by other U.N. members.

On November 26, 1962, Afghanistan, Algeria, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Saudi

Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen, and Yugoslavia tabled a draft resolution, similar to the one before the 16th General Assembly, recognizing "the right of the people of Oman to self-determination and independence"; calling for "the withdrawal of foreign forces from Oman"; and inviting "the parties concerned to settle peacefully their differences in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter with a view to restoring normal conditions in Oman." The draft resolution was adopted by the Special Political Committee on November 28 by a vote of 41 to 18 (U.S.), with 36 abstentions.

When the item came before a plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the U.K. Representative recalled that a "number of delegations in the debate in the Special Political Committee expressed some misgivings about voting on a resolution on this subject because they felt that they did not have sufficient facts or information from an independent source on which they could form a balanced judgment on the subject." He stated:

I am now authorized to state, on behalf of the Sultan of Muscat and Oman that, while preserving his position . . . he does not recognize the right of the General Assembly to discuss the internal affairs of his country and, on the understanding that the General Assembly does not take any formal action at this stage, he is prepared to invite on a personal basis a representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to visit the Sultanate during the coming year to obtain first-hand information as to the situation there.

Following this statement, each of the three operative paragraphs of the resolution was voted upon separately, and each was rejected for lack of the necessary two-thirds majority. The votes were 36 to 25, with 38 abstentions; 40 to 26, with 31 abstentions; and 44 to 23, with 30 abstentions. The United States voted against all three paragraphs.

## *Palestine Question*

### **Lake Tiberias Incidents**

Exchanges of fire between Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic along the eastern shore of Lake Tiberias occurred with increasing frequency in February and early March 1962. These largely resulted from friction over Syrian fishermen using the lake. On the night of March 16-17, Israel armed forces carried out a large-scale raid on Syrian positions on or near the Armistice Demarcation Line of the Demilitarized Zone (DZ) east of Lake Tiberias. The Syrian Arab Republic in a letter dated March 17, 1962, to the President of the Security Council requested Security Council consideration of the incident. Charging acts of aggression against Syrian territory and

the DZ which constituted a threat to the peace and security of the area, the letter stated that Israel armed forces carried out a mortar attack on the village of El-Nuqueib, that automatic weapons fire was directed at the Syrian military post of El-Douga, that the Syrian village of Squofie was bombarded violently by artillery, and that Israel military aircraft bombarded several Syrian positions.

The Israel Representative, in a letter of March 19 to the President of the Council, countercomplained of a series of aggressive acts by Syrian armed forces. The letter charged that machinegun and rifle fire had at various times during February and early March been directed at the village of Dardara, at vehicular traffic on the road to Ein Gev, and at fishermen near the Syrian village of El-Kursi. It also charged that machinegun and recoilless-gun fire had been directed against Israel police patrol boats on Lake Tiberias on March 8, 15, and 16. The letter further stated that the latter attacks were carried out from Syrian Army positions forming part of a system of fortifications extending illegally into the DZ north of the village of El-Nuqueib. The Israel Representative wrote that Representatives of Syria had repeatedly asserted hostile and aggressive intentions against the territorial integrity and political independence of Israel, and had repeatedly proclaimed that Syria regarded itself as being in a state of war with Israel. It was noted that the Israel Government had drawn the attention of competent U.N. authorities to the incidents cited and that Israel had suggested to the Chief of Staff (General Von Horn) of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO) that additional U.N. observation posts be established along the north-eastern shore of Lake Tiberias. Also, the Chief of Staff was requested to convey to the Syrian authorities Israel's concern about the possible consequences of such attacks. The Israel Representative reported that Israel, faced with a new series of acts of provocation on March 15 and 16 "in circumstances indicating a systematic and deliberate challenge to Israel presence on the lake," had found it necessary to take action, in exercise of its right of self-defense, to silence key positions in the Syrian fortified system overlooking Lake Tiberias.

On March 20 Syria requested that the Security Council convene to consider the grave situation arising "from the acts of aggression committed by Israel."

While the Council was awaiting the report of the Chief of Staff of the UNTSO, the Representative of Israel addressed two more letters to the Security Council President. On March 21 he charged that on the previous day two members of the crew of a police launch were wounded by fire from near the village of El-Kursi. He requested an early meeting of the Council to consider Israel's two complaints



against Syria. On March 22 the Israel Representative informed the President of the Council that further acts of aggression and provocation by Syrian armed forces against Israel territory and citizens had occurred on March 21 and 22.

The Chief of Staff submitted his report to the Secretary-General on March 26. Regarding the incident of March 8 involving the police patrol boat, General Von Horn noted that although statements by witnesses interrogated in Israel and Syria were contradictory as to who fired first, the statements of the Syrian witnesses did not explain the damage done to the police boat by armor-piercing projectiles of approximately 80 mm. caliber. The Chief of Staff pointed out that it was not for him or the Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission (MAC) to substitute for the MAC in a discussion of investigation reports relating to complaints addressed to it. (The Israel-Syria MAC had not met regularly since June 1951 for reasons explained in a previous report by the Chief of Staff.) The Chief of Staff reviewed the steps he and other UNTSO officers had taken subsequent to Israel's complaint about the March 8 incident. The Chairman of MAC had advised Syria that "Israel regarded the attack on the police boat as very grave and wished the Syrian Government to realize that by such actions they were playing with fire." On March 10 the Chief of Staff requested that Syria establish at least one additional observation post on the Syrian side.

With regard to the March 15 incident the Chief of Staff reported that the U.N. observer nearest the scene was not in a position to determine which side fired first.

In describing the major incident of March 16-17, the Chief of Staff noted a communique by the Israel Defense Forces which stated in part:

In order to ensure normal activity within Israel's sovereign territory, our forces were compelled to destroy the Syrian positions from which the launches and the fishermen had been attacked. Shortly before midnight, a unit of the Israel Defense Forces assaulted Syrian positions north of Nuqueib, occupied the posts and destroyed the fortifications.

The U.N. observers were not in a position to follow this night operation closely, he reported. However, they heard a large volume of fire including machinegun and heavy artillery on the eastern shore of the lake between approximately midnight and 7 a.m. There were also exchanges of fire between Syrian positions and Israel boats, Syrian machinegun fire directed at Ein Gev, and Israel artillery fire coming from the southwest of the lake. Additionally, the flights of several unidentified aircraft were heard.

Efforts to arrange a cease-fire, the Chief of Staff continued, began at 1 a.m., March 17. A cease-fire was arranged for 7 a.m. On March 17 the Syrian Representative submitted to the Chairman of the Israel-Syrian MAC a complaint concerning the Israel attack.

The Chief of Staff reported that the Israel military action had left an aftermath of tension and that during the following few days there were additional charges regarding new incidents. On March 20 he announced the Syrian decision to cooperate with UNTSO in establishing a new U.N. observer post near El-Kursi. He further reported that in a conversation with the Israel Foreign Minister on March 21, he had renewed a proposal made in 1956 by the late Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, concerning a special U.N. boat on Lake Tiberias. The Chief of Staff also asked Israel and Syrian authorities to grant permission for U.N. Military Observers to visit the Demilitarized Zone and the Defensive Area to check whether the forces which may have been brought recently into these areas had been withdrawn. In concluding his report, the Chief of Staff observed that the two parties to the General Armistice Agreement (GAA) should cooperate with the U.N. Military Observers, who should enjoy the necessary freedom of movement.

The Security Council convened on March 28. At the invitation of the President, the Representatives of Syria and Israel were invited to take places at the table.

The Syrian Representative charged that Israel's aggressions were a repetition of others in the past. He cited remarks made by Council members during the consideration of previous instances of retaliatory action in 1951, 1953, February 1955, and December 1955. He claimed that Israel's actions were motivated by a desire for expansion, and that Syria and other Arab countries would no longer tolerate this policy. He demanded that the Council again condemn Israel for violating the Armistice Agreement, and that the condemnation be severe.

The Israel Representative claimed that Lake Tiberias "in its entirety forms part of Israel territory." In spite of this, he said, Syrian armed forces had consistently tried to establish *de facto* control over the northeastern corner of the lake, and had as a deliberate policy persistently attacked and interfered with normal Israel activities on the lake. He stated that no Syrian citizen had the right to fish in the lake without Israel's consent. He reviewed in detail Israel's version of the history of the controversy in the Lake Tiberias area. He drew attention to the use by Syrian forces of 82 mm. recoilless armor-piercing guns, and to Syrian threats against Israel's exist-

ence. If the United Nations is unable to secure Syrian respect for the Armistice, Israel is faced with a cruel dilemma, the Israel Representative stated. Either it must take steps to silence the guns which are firing into its territory or it must surrender that part of the Israel shore and lake to Syrian control. Such a surrender was unthinkable. He asked that Syria refrain from further attacks upon, or interference with, Israel activities within Israel territory, that it insure that there should be no crossing of any kind from Syria into Israel territory in violation of the Armistice Agreement, and that it abide by article 2(4) of the U.N. Charter, refraining from any further threats against the territorial integrity and political independence of Israel. The Israel Representative asked that any resolution adopted by the Council contain appropriate provisions concerning Israel's two complaints.

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Stevenson noted that this was the first time since January 1956 that the Council had had to consider a rupture of the General Armistice Agreement of such magnitude on the Israel-Syria frontier. He proposed that the Council request the Chief of Staff to return to New York to be available for consultation. He said that the Chief of Staff deserved thanks for his prompt action in arranging for a cessation of hostilities on the night of March 16-17, and that the Council should do everything in its power to strengthen his position. Noting that his report indicated that there had been both provocation and retaliation, the U.S. Representative stressed that whatever the facts, they did not justify Israel's reversion to a policy of retaliatory raids. This policy had contributed to the rapid rise of tensions in the Middle East during 1955 and 1956 and it could be no more countenanced now than it was then. He noted that there was extensive U.N. machinery available and that if it had not been adequate to prevent difficulties, the answer lay in improving the machinery and cooperating with it. To raise the scale of military action in violation of the Armistice was not the answer.

On April 3 the Council resumed consideration of the item. Secretary-General U Thant announced that General Von Horn was available to delegates wishing to see him and would respond to questions put to him. The Syrian Representative also spoke countering various positions taken by the Representative of Israel at the previous meeting. He denied that the Syrian army had set up any posts in the DZ, and that any Syrian post had been destroyed in the course of the Israel attack. He also quoted extensively from various documents relating to interpretations of the General Armistice Agreement, particularly as it related to the DZ.



The Syrian Representative proposed that the Council adopt a resolution:

1. Condemning Israel for the attack on March 16-17;
2. Warning Israel that the Security Council was resolved to call for sanctions against it, should it resort once more to such aggressive acts;
3. Inviting Israel to accept the proposal that a U.N. patrol boat be stationed on Lake Tiberias, and
4. Requesting the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of this resolution.

The Representative of the United Arab Republic asked General Von Horn if MAC should resume its work, about the status of the DZ, whether there were any military or paramilitary forces in the DZ, and whether he felt that there was reason to expect another attack on Syria by Israel armed forces. The Representative of Ghana asked how the terms of the Armistice Agreement had been violated by Syria or Israel within the 6 previous months, and what UNTSO had done to prevent such a violation.

Ambassador Yost, speaking for the United States, also asked the Chief of Staff the following questions:

1. Could he suggest ways in which UNTSO effectiveness could be increased?
2. Was the UNTSO afforded the necessary freedom of movement essential to the performance of its responsibilities under the GAA?
3. Did the Chief of Staff have any suggestions on how observance of the GAA could be improved, with special reference to deployment of forces in the DZ and the Defensive Areas?
4. Could he comment further on the status of the Israel-Syria MAC?

On April 4 the Israel Representative submitted a draft resolution: (1) expressing grave concern at the attacks by Syrian armed forces against the territory of Israel; (2) calling on Syria to abide fully by all the provisions of the GAA, particularly article 1 thereof, in order to prevent all illegal crossing from Syrian territory, to cease all interference with Israel activities on the area, and to desist from firing into Israel territory; (3) finding that Syrian threats against the territorial integrity and the political independence of Israel violated the U.N. Charter and the GAA, and (4) calling upon Syria to refrain from such threats.

On the same day the Council reconvened but shortly adjourned to afford members an opportunity to study General Von Horn's answers

to questions asked during the April 3 meeting. *Inter alia*, General Von Horn replied that:

1. The Chairman of the MAC was satisfied that no Syrian posts or fortified positions had been seen as "existing or destroyed in the DZ";

2. No procedure could satisfactorily replace regular meetings of the MAC, providing for face-to-face discussion between the parties under a U.N. chairman;

3. The GAA provided for the total exclusion of armed forces from the DZ; the "authoritative comment" of Dr. Ralph Bunche provided that civil administration in the DZ, including the policing, was to be on a local basis under the general supervision of the Chairman of the MAC "and without raising general questions of administration, jurisdiction, citizenship and sovereignty"; the Israel Government had not agreed to discuss in the MAC anything pertaining to the DZ and that as a result no regular meeting had taken place since 1951; and because of the above factors the authority of the UNTSO in the DZ had been gradually weakened;

4. That elements of military and paramilitary forces, as well as fortification, had been observed in the DZ;

5. The UNTSO could not make predictions but that it was constantly doing all it could to avoid recourse to force by either side;

6. If UNTSO had the full cooperation of both parties with regard to the provisions of the GAA relating to the DZ and adjoining Defensive Areas, violations of the GAA and of the (December 11, 1948) cease-fire order of the Security Council could be gradually minimized if not altogether eliminated, and

7. It was not possible to determine which complaints could be considered as a violation of the GAA in the absence of regular meetings of the MAC, but preventive action would be facilitated if the parties insured full freedom of movement for U.N. observers.

In response to the questions posed by the U.S. Representative, the Chief of Staff observed that freedom of movement was an essential element in effective observation and that neither on the Syrian nor on the Israel side were the observers afforded this necessary freedom; UNTSO's effectiveness would be increased if it had a boat on Lake Tiberias; considerable time would be saved in periods of crisis if UNTSO aircraft were permitted to use certain air corridors; and that helicopters would be useful to UNTSO. The Chief of Staff also emphasized again that the reestablishment of the procedures for handling problems through the MAC would help to normalize the situation.

On April 6 the United Kingdom and the United States jointly tabled a draft resolution. In explaining its operative paragraphs,

the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yoŝt, noted that paragraph 1 deplored the hostile exchanges between Syria and Israel which started on March 8, and called upon them to comply with their obligations under article 2, paragraph 4 of the U.N. Charter by refraining from the threat of as well as the use of force. The hostile exchanges were deplored, he continued, without assessing blame because the UNTSO was unable to determine who initiated the firing on any of the occasions prior to the attack of March 16. This was due in large part to the fact that the parties, particularly Israel, had placed obstacles in the way of effective scrutiny and observation by the observers. It would appear, however, the U.S. Representative stated, that the level of the engagement was raised by Syria on March 8 to that of artillery fire and that subsequently artillery and mortars were used by both parties. The prospects of escalation of minor incidents when artillery is employed were obvious, and this sort of action could not be condoned. At the same time, Israel had apparently introduced and used such weapons in the Defensive Area in violation of the GAA. The U.S. Representative noted that there had been provocative statements by both parties which were not calculated to insure the other of its peaceful intention, and he appealed to both Governments to utilize utmost caution in their pronouncements and statements.

Paragraph 2 of the draft resolution reaffirmed the Security Council's resolution of January 19, 1956, which condemned Israel military action in breach of the GAA, whether or not undertaken by way of retaliation.

Paragraph 3 determined that the Israel attack of March 16-17 constituted a flagrant violation of the 1956 resolution, and called upon Israel scrupulously to refrain from such action in the future. In explaining these paragraphs, the U.S. Representative stated that the Israel assault on Syrian positions north of El-Nuqueib was clearly a return to the policy of determined and large-scale retaliation repeatedly condemned by the Security Council. As there was an impartial alternative to such action, through the machinery of the United Nations, there could be no justification for a policy of retaliation. The U.S. Representative noted that the Council had consistently condemned such attacks even when prior but less serious violations of the other party had been confirmed by the Chief of Staff. The fact that the attack of March 16 was a large-scale operation was apparent from the announcement made by Israel military sources, from the number of men involved, and from the number of lives and armored vehicles lost. While there was no indication that the ground attack carried into Syria proper, Israel planes had apparently bombed Syrian territory



and the Israel Defense Force announcement gave no indication that the operation was intended to be restricted to the DZ.

The U.S. Representative emphasized that there was a readily available alternative to retaliatory military action, namely, the peacekeeping machinery of the United Nations. The retaliatory action of March 16 was taken entirely without prior recourse either to the Armistice machinery or to the Security Council—the political bodies charged with responsibility for the peace. The U.S. Representative explained that the remainder of the draft resolution dealt with what should be done to strengthen the U.N. peacekeeping machinery in the area.

The U.K.-U.S. draft resolution further endorsed the measures recommended by the Chief of Staff for strengthening UNTSO; called upon both parties to abide by the cease-fire arranged by him on March 17; called for strict observance of article 5 of the General Armistice Agreements which provides for the expulsion of armed forces from the DZ and by annex 4 of that Agreement which sets limits on forces in the Defensive Area; called upon the Governments of Israel and Syria to cooperate with the Chief of Staff; urged that all steps necessary for reactivating the MAC and for making full use of its machinery be promptly taken; and requested the Chief of Staff to report as appropriate concerning the situation.

Commenting on these elements of the draft resolution, the U.S. Representative urged Israel in the most stringent terms to resort to the MAC and to the Security Council in accordance with its obligations under the Charter instead of resorting to the use of force. He commended General Von Horn and his able colleagues on their excellent performance of duties on behalf of the United Nations under unusually difficult circumstances. General Von Horn and his entire staff deserved the gratitude and unstinting support of the U.N. members, most of all that of Israel and its Arab neighbors. The U.S. Representative expressed the hope that Israel and Syrian authorities would cooperate with the Chief of Staff in working out further arrangements to improve UNTSO's observation facilities, including the mobile observation areas proposed by the Chief of Staff. The U.S. Representative concluded by urging the parties to cooperate fully with the U.N. instrumentalities so that peaceful conditions could be maintained.

At the request of the Representative of Israel the Security Council deferred voting on the U.K.-U.S. draft resolution until April 9. The Syrian Representative stated that his Government did not think this draft resolution went far enough in evaluating the facts of the situation. The Israel Representative said that the veto power had

become established as a crucial element in dealings by the Council with the Israel-Arab conflict. When Israel sought redress with the Council no remedial action could be taken because the Soviet Union had placed its veto power at the disposal of one of the two parties to the dispute. He denied that the Israel Government had ever had "a policy of retaliatory raids." Commenting on the Anglo-American draft resolution, the Israel Representative said that it was not fairly balanced between Syria's complaints and the two complaints submitted by Israel.

The Council approved the U.K.-U.S. draft resolution by a vote of 10 to 0, with 1 (France) abstention. The Syrian and Israel draft resolutions were not pressed to a vote.

## Palestine Arab Refugees

### ACTIVITIES OF THE PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION (PCC)

*Mission of the Special Representative.* The 16th General Assembly in its resolution of December 20, 1961, asked the Palestine Conciliation Commission (PCC) to intensify its efforts for the implementation of paragraph 11 of the third General Assembly's resolution (resolution 194 (III)), urged the Arab host Governments and Israel to cooperate with the Commission in this regard, and requested the Commission to intensify its work on the identification and evaluation of Arab refugee immovable properties in Palestine. (Paragraph 11, resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible; and instructs the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement, and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation, and to maintain close relations with the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) and, through him, with the appropriate organs and agencies of the United Nations.) During 1962 the Commission concentrated on carrying out these tasks.

On March 2, 1962, the Commission reappointed Dr. Joseph E. Johnson as its Special Representative to continue and intensify his efforts toward finding a means to implement paragraph 11 of Resolution 194 (III). In pursuit of this effort, Dr. Johnson spent 4 weeks, April 14 to May 12, 1962, consulting with the President of the United Arab Republic, the Prime Ministers of Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and the

Syrian Arab Republic, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the five countries, and other officials. Dr. Johnson continued his consultations into the fall of 1962. On October 2, 1962, the United States announced that Dr. Johnson had submitted certain proposals to the principal parties involved in the question. The statement said:

. . . The United States joined other members of the Conciliation Commission in authorizing him to discuss these with the Arab host governments and Israel. Dr. Johnson has not yet reported back to the Commission on the outcome of these discussions.

After a conference between the PCC and Dr. Johnson in November, it was decided he should not submit a report on his activities at that time. In its 20th Progress Report, the PCC commended Dr. Johnson for the dedication, persistence, and imagination which he devoted to his task. The report concluded by commenting that the Commission long realized that a solution to the Palestine refugee problem would require time and continued effort, and stated that the Commission intends to carry forward its initiative on this question.

*Identification and Valuation Program.* The PCC continued during 1962 its work on identification and evaluation of immovable properties owned by Arab refugees in Palestine as of May 15, 1948. The PCC's 20th Progress Report stated that its Technical Office reported on September 10, 1962, that it had virtually completed the task of identifying and evaluating individual parcels of land, a total of some 453,000 separate parcels. In the meantime, the Commission had authorized the next logical stage of the work, i.e., the calculation of the value of each owner's share of jointly owned properties, the aggregate value of each owner's total immovable property, and the preparation of an index of owner's names.

*Release of Arab Refugee Bank Accounts Blocked in Israel.* During 1962 the PCC was also engaged in the final stage of its operations for the release of bank accounts of refugees and absentee owners. As of July 31, 1962, a grand total of 3,532,088 pounds sterling had been paid to owners of blocked accounts. The Commission also continued its efforts to complete the return of unclaimed safe custody items to their owners in Jordan and Lebanon, and expressed the hope that it would be able to make arrangements for the return of safe custody items to refugees now resident in the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Arab Republic, and Gaza.

#### CONSIDERATION AT SEVENTEENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly's Special Political Committee began consideration of the Palestine Arab refugee question, officially listed on the Assembly's agenda as "Report of the Commissioner-General of the



United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East" (UNRWA), on November 29, 1962, and concluded it on December 18, 1962, with the passage of a resolution submitted by the United States.

The debate began with a statement by Dr. John H. Davis, Commissioner General of UNRWA. Dr. Davis introduced the Agency's report for the period July 1, 1961, to June 30, 1962, which reviewed the main features of the refugee problem as they appeared to the Commissioner General, and contained a summary of the Agency's activities during the year ending June 30, 1962, and the presentation of a budget for the year 1963.

In his statement before the Special Political Committee, Dr. Davis commented that the Agency, as planned at the beginning of its 3-year mandate ending on June 30, 1963, will have held *per capita* relief expenditure at the 1960 level. At the same time, he said, UNRWA will have almost kept the educational program for refugees at the same level as that in the host countries and will have considerably expanded its vocational and teacher-training programs. Dr. Davis emphasized that the essential problem was to find the necessary funds for education while at the same time maintaining relief services.

In the course of the debate, the Special Political Committee heard more than 60 speeches and a great many additional statements in exercise of the right of reply.

Carl T. Rowan, the U.S. Representative, noted that the Palestine refugee problem which is "almost as old . . . as the United Nations itself" continues "to defy our best efforts" and "has refused to yield to the most dedicated attempts to achieve a workable solution." In fact, he continued, the problem becomes more intractable with each passing year.

Stressing the primary responsibility of Israel and the four Arab host countries for solving the problem, the U.S. Representative declared that conciliation efforts by third parties "cannot succeed in the absence of a disposition on the part of the sovereign governments on both sides of the armistice line to resolve the problem. . . ."

He noted that "each of the two sides stands fixed in the same rigid attitudes," each believing that time is on its side. "So long as this dispute exists . . . time is on the side of danger and despair," he declared.

The U.S. Representative expressed the United States' profound disappointment about the course the Palestine dispute had taken over the years and declared that it could not accept a continued lack of progress on this question. He called on both sides to sacrifice some part of their desires and concluded by saying the solution to the prob-

lem "will be found in the quiet endeavors of men of vision and good will patiently working out, detail by detail, a procedure for fulfilling insofar as possible the desires of the refugees while protecting the legitimate concerns of the interested parties."

In his speech, the U.S. Representative expressed U.S. opposition both to a draft resolution calling for direct Arab-Israel negotiations, and to a draft resolution asking for the appointment of a U.N. custodian for Arab properties in Israel. He also referred to the new initiative of the PCC which has been underway since the 15th General Assembly, declaring: "Thanks largely to the dedication, imagination, persistence and realism of the Commission's Special Representative, Dr. Joseph E. Johnson, this has proved to be a useful endeavor. The Commission has learned much about what will not work, at least in present circumstances, and about what might possibly work. The realities of the problem have been more sharply defined."

The draft resolutions were introduced on December 9-10, 1962. The first, tabled December 9 by Burundi, the Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Haiti, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Netherlands, Niger, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Upper Volta, subsequently joined by Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Uruguay, would have had the General Assembly renew its appeal to the governments concerned to undertake direct negotiations with a view to finding a solution, acceptable to all the parties concerned, for all the questions in dispute between them.

The second draft resolution introduced by Afghanistan, Indonesia, Mauritania, and Pakistan on December 10, 1962, would have had the Assembly appoint a custodian to administer Arab property and assets within Israel.

The United States introduced a third draft resolution December 14, 1962. After recalling the numerous resolutions of past General Assemblies on this subject and noting the report of UNRWA's Commissioner General, the General Assembly expressed its thanks to the Commissioner General and staff of the UNRWA. It also expressed its thanks to the PCC "for its efforts to find a way to progress on the Palestine Arab refugee problem pursuant to paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III)," and requested the PCC "to continue its endeavours with the Member States directly concerned"; requested "the Secretary-General to provide the staff and facilities that the Commission may require in carrying on its work": decided to extend UNRWA's mandate until June 30, 1965; directed attention to UNRWA's precarious financial position and urged "non-contributing Governments to contribute, and contributing Governments to consider

increasing their contributions, so that the Agency can carry out its essential programmes."

In introducing the U.S. draft resolution, the U.S. Representative declared: "It is a straightforward, realistic draft resolution aimed at providing the optimum conditions for further earnest efforts to achieve progress on the serious problem of the Palestine refugee."

After recalling that he had indicated on December 11, 1962, the U.S. preference for a 1-year extension of the Agency's mandate, the U.S. Representative said:

My Government's concern for the immediate needs of the Palestine refugees has been amply demonstrated in several meaningful ways. There can be no early end to the refugee problem even if there is some prospect of progress towards its solution. My Government will continue to be responsive to the needs of the Palestine refugees. And we must be aware that conditions do change. So, while my delegation agreed to the proposition that UNRWA's mandate should now be extended for two years, we strongly favor an annual evaluation.

The U.S. Representative expressed the hope that neither the draft resolution appealing for direct negotiations nor the one requesting the appointment of a U.N. custodian in Israel would be pressed to a vote.

On December 18, 1962, Cyprus introduced an amendment to the U.S. resolution proposing an additional preambulatory paragraph that would have the General Assembly note "with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) has not been effected, that no substantial progress has been made in the program endorsed in paragraph 2 of resolution 513 (VI) for the reintegration of refugees either by repatriation or resettlement and that, therefore, the situation of the refugees continues to be a matter of serious concern."

The Cyprus amendment was adopted by a rollcall vote of 68 to 2 (U.S.), with 34 abstentions. The United States voted against the amendment in keeping with its decision to oppose all amendments to its resolution.

The amended U.S. resolution was then put to a vote.

The vote on those paragraphs on which there was a difference of opinion follows:

The first part of operative paragraph 2 thanking the PCC for its efforts to find a way to progress on the Palestine Arab refugees problem pursuant to paragraph 11 of General Assembly Resolution 194 (III) was adopted by a vote of 62 to 1, with 41 abstentions. The second part of this same operative paragraph requesting the PCC "to continue its endeavors with the member states directly concerned" was adopted by a rollcall vote of 69 to 0, with 35 abstentions.



This paragraph as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 64 to 0, with 34 abstentions.

The paragraphs requesting the Secretary-General to provide the PCC with staff and urging greater financial support of UNRWA were adopted 69 to 0, with 34 abstentions.

The resolution as a whole, as amended, was then adopted by the General Assembly's Special Political Committee by 101 to 0, with 2 (Cameroon and Israel) abstentions.

The Representative of the Ivory Coast then declared that the 21 cosponsors of the draft resolution calling for direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel had decided they would not press their resolution to a vote. The Representative of Afghanistan similarly announced that the 4-power resolution asking for the appointment of a U.N. custodian for Arab properties in Israel would not be pressed to a vote.

In the plenary on December 20, 1962, the General Assembly voted overwhelmingly in favor of the amended U.S. resolution. The vote was 100 to 0, with 2 (Cameroon and Israel) abstentions.

#### FINANCIAL PLEDGES FOR THE 1963 UNRWA PROGRAM

At a meeting on December 20, 1962, of representatives of governments contributing to UNRWA, 25 governments pledged a total equivalent of \$32.4 million. Other governments informed UNRWA they were not able at that time to make any pledge but expected to be able to do so at a later date. If these pledges correspond with their past pledges, UNRWA officials estimate its total funds will reach between \$33 and \$34 million.

The United States pledged \$24,700,000 for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1963. Part of the U.S. contribution was in food-stuffs for the Agency's relief program.

The U.S. Representative, Elmore Jackson, noted that the U.S. contribution would be made available to the extent it does not exceed 70 percent of the total governmental contributions. He also announced this government's stipulation that at least \$1.7 million of its contribution must be used for UNRWA's program of vocational and teacher training.

In his speech the U.S. Representative emphasized this country's belief that the General Assembly should each year thoroughly examine the question of international assistance to the refugees. He noted that the United States would have preferred a 1-year extension of the UNRWA but agreed at this time to a 2-year extension in deference to the wishes of other interested governments.

"The United States believes," the U.S. Representative said, "that there should be an annual evaluation of UNRWA's activities to ensure that they are tailored to the fundamental needs of the refugees. It is, in addition, important that the development of this program take into account the cooperation of the host governments and any progress made in finding a basic solution to the refugee question."

The U.S. Representative also reminded the meeting of the importance of rectifying relief roles so that UNRWA relief supplies and services can be limited to those *bona fide* Palestine refugees who need them. "The rectification of the relief rolls has been too long delayed," he declared.

In conclusion, the U.S. Representative said, "... My government considers that the fact that many of the refugees are finding opportunities for work, due to a number of factors, including the success of UNRWA's vocational training program, should be reflected in a gradual curtailment of the Agency's expenditures on relief. The refugees as a whole would be well served by such a change, for the funds thus saved could be shifted to vocational training and other educational programs. It would seem that action along this forward looking line could be initiated during 1963. . . ."

#### United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)

During 1962 the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) continued to play an important role in maintaining the peace and stability which prevailed along the Egypt-Israel Armistice Demarcation Line (ADL) and International Frontier (IF). In 1962 the Force consisted of about 5,100 officers and men, approximately the same level as prevailed in 1961, and the level which will be continued in 1963 by reason of the expenditures authorized by the 17th General Assembly. The United States contributes no troops to UNEF, but supports the Force by financial contributions.

The Secretary-General, in his report on UNEF to the 17th General Assembly, dated August 22, 1962, stated:

During the period covered by this report, there has been no appreciable change in the relationship between the United Arab Republic and Israel pertaining to the operations of the United Nations Emergency Force. Virtually uninterrupted peace and quiet have prevailed all along the Armistice Demarcation Line in the Gaza Strip and on the International Frontier in the Sinai Peninsula, and the United Nations Emergency Force has continued to be the decisive influence in the maintenance of these conditions.

The number of cases of infiltration and other incidents along the Armistice Demarcation Line and the International Frontier between the United Arab Republic and Israel have been few and, as in previous years, of a very minor nature. There has been no case in which UNEF has had to employ its arms—the

pattern of deployment of sentries and constant patrolling has proved to be sufficient in the accomplishment of its task. The confidence of the local population in the prevailing peaceful conditions continues to grow and this is reflected in the markedly increased agricultural development that is taking place, often up to the Armistice Line on both sides. It is regretted, however, that there has been no appreciable reduction in the number of air violations, more particularly in the northeast area of the Gaza Strip.

The reduction in the Swedish contingent effected last year owing to the dispatch of two companies of approximately 200 men to the Congo has not been made up and, for this reason, the disposition of the various components of the Force has had to be more or less permanently adjusted. A thorough review has been made of the strength of UNEF in relation to the requirements of it, and it has been found that without a change in its present responsibilities there cannot be any further reduction in the over-all strength of the Force. . . .

The basic organization, location, and operational functions of the Force, as well as the participating countries (Brazil, Canada, Denmark, India, Norway, Sweden, and Yugoslavia), have remained the same throughout 1962.

The numerical strength of each national contingent as of December 15, 1962, is as follows:

Contingent	Officers	Other ranks	Total
Brazil . . . . .	40	599	639
Canada . . . . .	87	836	923
Denmark . . . . .	44	519	563
India . . . . .	75	1, 181	1, 256
Norway . . . . .	87	530	617
Sweden . . . . .	32	394	426
Yugoslavia . . . . .	68	642	710
Total . . . . .	433	4, 701	5, 134

The Secretary-General reported that during the year UNEF continued to be deployed along the western side of the ADL and the IF, covering a distance of about 164 miles. The Sinai coast from the northern end of the Gulf of Aqaba to the Straits of Tiran, a distance of about 112 miles, was kept under observation by UNEF air reconnaissance. Forty-one platoons were employed on the ADL and the IF, 16 on guard and protective duties and 11 in reserve. The total number of officers and men employed on operational duties was thus approximately 2,200, the remainder consisting of administrative and ancillary troops.

The Secretary-General explained that in the daytime, the ADL was kept under observation from a series of 70 intervisible observation posts, manned by two sentries. At night these sentries were re-



placed by patrols, consisting of five to seven men, which moved on foot and covered the length of the ADL on an average of three times each night. Platoon camps each held a reserve detachment to assist an observation post or patrol if necessary.

As far as the IF was concerned, the Secretary-General's report stated that rough terrain and minefields continued to restrict the access routes for potential infiltrators and to confine their activities to certain areas. The Canadian Reconnaissance Squadron and the Yugoslav Reconnaissance Battalion patrolled these sensitive areas. Aircraft also patrolled the entire length of the IF on an average of four times a week. A detachment of about one platoon of the Swedish Battalion, with Canadian administrative troops, was stationed at Sharm'el Sheikh to keep the Straits of Tiran under observation.

### *South Africa—Apartheid*

In a letter dated August 14, 1962, 48 countries requested for the 11th consecutive year that the item, "The Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa: (a) Race conflict in South Africa; (b) Treatment of people of Indian and Indo-Pakistan origin in the Republic of South Africa," be included in the agenda of the General Assembly. An attached explanatory memorandum recalled that, at its 16th session, the Assembly had considered for the 10th year in succession the question of race conflict in the Republic of South Africa and had adopted a resolution by an overwhelming majority. That resolution had brought out even more clearly than before, the memorandum stated, the great concern felt by the United Nations and its determination to see an end to the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination pursued by the Republic of South Africa. It had, however, failed to bring about any change in the policies and actions of that Government. Those policies continued with increasing ruthlessness and disregard of world opinion and of successive U.N. resolutions. Recently, the memorandum continued, South Africa had passed a bill entitled "The General Law Amendment Bill" (popularly known as the South African Government's "Sabotage Bill"), which had further added to existing bitterness and tension between the various racial groups in South Africa. At a time when the African people were emerging into freedom and independent nationhood, the racial conflict in South Africa was a continuing cause of international friction and seriously endangered peace and security. The same considerations were equally valid and applicable to the question of the treatment of people of Indian and Indo-Pakistan origin in the Republic of South Africa and for this

reason the two questions which had been treated separately at earlier Assemblies, were being combined as one item.

On September 19, 1962, the General Assembly decided to include the item on its agenda, over the objection of the South African Representative, who stated that inclusion contravened the terms of article 2 (7) of the Charter on domestic jurisdiction. The item was allocated to the Special Political Committee, where it was considered at 16 meetings held between October 8 and November 2, 1962.

Debate on the item once again showed the strong, almost unanimous opposition to the policy and practice of apartheid. One effect of this determined opposition and the absence of any improvement in the racial situation within South Africa during the past year was increased pressure for a resolution calling for immediate action by the United Nations rather than relying upon exhortation and persuasion. The African states, which had advocated unsuccessfully at the 15th and 16th General Assemblies a resolution calling for the early imposition of an economic and commercial boycott against South Africa, found more support for their policy at the 17th General Assembly. All of the Arab representatives spoke in favor of sanctions, as did several Asian representatives and representatives of the Soviet bloc. Other Asian representatives expressed reservations about such action without actually opposing it. The European and many Latin American representatives spoke against the inclusion of a call for sanctions in a resolution on apartheid.

The position of the United States on both the basic issue of apartheid and what the United Nations should do to try to bring South Africa to change its racial policy were forcefully stated on October 19 by the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton. He reiterated the unalterable and irrevocable U.S. opposition to apartheid, and the U.S. commitment to encourage South Africa to abandon it. The legitimate concern of the United States and the United Nations with the question of apartheid derives from articles 55 and 56 of the Charter, the refusal of the South African Government to comply with the recommendations of the Security Council, and the conviction that the persistence of apartheid in South Africa "can well result in disaster for all its races."

The U.S. Representative went on to deal with the subject of sanctions. He said:

Some nations have raised the question of the application of sanctions to South Africa. But would the passage of a resolution recommending sanctions bring about the practical result we seek? We do not believe this would bring us closer to our objective—the abandonment of apartheid in South Africa. We see little value in a resolution which would be primarily a means for a discharge of our own emotions, which would be unlikely to be fully implemented

and which calls for measures which could be easily evaded by the country to which they are addressed—with the result of calling into question the whole efficacy of the sanction process. . . .

Members of this Committee will recall that last year the General Assembly adopted, with near unanimity, a resolution which called on all members to take such individual or collective actions to end apartheid as were open to them in conformity with the Charter. The United States has supported that resolution and has complied with it. We believe that each Member State can and should take measures which, given its particular circumstances, will be most effective to bring about the result that we all desire. There is, however, a vital distinction, both practically and in terms of the Charter, between such a resolution and a resolution recommending specific sanctions, such as the one which the General Assembly rejected last year. The latter type the United States will continue to oppose.

The U.S. Representative also described what the United States had done to make good on its commitment to work for an end to apartheid and on its obligations under the 16th General Assembly's resolution for which it had voted.

To be concrete, the United States has already adopted and is enforcing the policy of forbidding the sale to the South African Government of any arms, whether from governmental or commercial sources, which could be used by that government to enforce apartheid either in South Africa or in the administration of Southwest Africa. Furthermore, my government has made and will continue to make official representations to the South African Government on all aspects of apartheid. It has told and will continue to tell that government that it owes it to the world, to its obligations under the Charter, and to the welfare of its own people, to abandon apartheid.

On October 26 a draft resolution was submitted jointly by 23 African and seven Arab and Asian states which were subsequently joined as sponsors by three additional African states. Operative paragraph 4 of this draft resolution requested member states "to take the following measures, separately or collectively in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations . . . ,"

"(a) Break off diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa, or refraining from establishing such relations,

"(b) Closing the ports of each State to all vessels flying the South African flag,

"(c) Enacting legislation prohibiting the ships of each State from entering South African ports,

"(d) Boycotting all South African goods and refraining from exporting goods, including all arms and ammunition, to South Africa,

"(e) Refusing landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government and companies registered under laws of the Republic of South Africa; . . ."

The resolution also provided for the establishment of a special committee to keep the racial policies of the South African Govern-



ment under review and report to the General Assembly or the Security Council or both as may be appropriate. Member states were invited to inform the 18th General Assembly which convenes in 1963 of what actions they had taken "in dissuading the Government of the Republic of South Africa from pursuing its policies of apartheid." In paragraph 8 the Security Council was requested "to take appropriate measures, including sanctions, to secure South Africa's compliance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council . . . and, if necessary, to consider action under Article 6 of the Charter." (Article 6 of the Charter provides for expulsion of members from the United Nations.)

On October 31 Guatemala submitted amendments which *inter alia* would have revised paragraph 4 of the Afro-Asian draft resolution by requesting member states to take all measures "which they consider appropriate," including the five measures already listed. This would have had the effect of making the paragraph a recommendation for separate and collective action with a list of possible measures, rather than recommending specific actions.

In explaining their positions on the draft resolution, Representatives from Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United Kingdom joined the United States in opposing paragraphs 4 (sanctions) and 8 (calling for Security Council action) as being unrealistic and counterproductive in achieving the desired result. Representatives of such Asian members as Malaya, the Philippines, and Thailand also expressed disagreement with these paragraphs although they did not oppose the resolution as a whole. Several Latin American representatives, including those of Colombia and Guatemala, expressed the opinion that paragraph 4 was asking the General Assembly to decide a matter which, according to article 41 of the Charter, fell exclusively within the province of the Security Council. They maintained that the responsibilities and powers given to the General Assembly under article 14 did not cover breaches of the peace or threats to security.

The arguments in favor of the resolution were presented by a number of African and Asian representatives who felt that it was essential that there be concrete action on the question of race conflict in South Africa, if there was to be any hope of ameliorating the worsening situation. They also felt that the major Western Powers, including the United States, bore a heavy responsibility for the situation in South Africa since they were that country's major trading partners (who also supplied military equipment) and had large financial interests in South Africa, thus giving them more potential influence on South Africa's policies than any of the other members of the United

Nations. They believed that the United Nations should, therefore, adopt a resolution which would call upon *all* member states not merely to denounce apartheid but to take the "necessary steps to eradicate it."

On November 1 the General Assembly's Special Political Committee voted on the draft resolution and Guatemala's proposed amendments. The proposed amendment to paragraph 4 (sanctions) was defeated by a vote of 56 to 10 (U.S.), with 28 abstentions. Mexico and the United Kingdom then requested a separate vote on various parts of the draft resolution. This request was opposed by Ghana. The Committee, by a rollcall vote of 39 (U.S.) to 46, with 11 abstentions, decided to reject the request for a separate vote and instead decided to vote on the draft resolution as a whole. The draft resolution was then approved by a vote of 60 to 16 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions.

The General Assembly considered the draft resolution in plenary on November 6. South Africa's Foreign Minister Louw, who had not participated in the Committee debate, was the first speaker. He defended his Government's racial policies on grounds that more was being done for the nonwhite peoples of South Africa, in terms of such matters as housing, education, social services, hospitalization, and agricultural training, than in any other African country; that "the reason for South Africa's acknowledged policy of separate and parallel development is the elemental human urge to survive," and that this policy was "a solution which will mean our survival as a white race." He said that those states advocating punitive measures against South Africa were making allegations "which in many cases are blatantly false, and in other cases grossly distorted."

The Representative from Colombia moved that there be a separate vote on various paragraphs of the draft resolution approved earlier by the Special Political Committee, a motion supported by Sweden and the United States and opposed by Senegal and Ghana. The motion for a separate vote was rejected by a vote of 49 (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, the U.K., the U.S., Uruguay, and Venezuela) to 52 (Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cameroon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana,

Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Rumania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., Upper Volta, Yemen, and Yugoslavia), with 5 abstentions (Israel, Jamaica, Laos, Lebanon, and Malaya).

The draft resolution was then adopted by a vote of 68 (Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Malaya, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Rumania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., Upper Volta, Yemen, and Yugoslavia) to 16 (Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, Ireland, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Turkey, the U.K., and the U.S.), with 23 abstentions (Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Italy, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Peru, Sweden, Thailand, Uruguay, and Venezuela).

### *Southeast Asia—Cambodia—Thai Relations*

On October 19, 1962, Secretary-General U Thant informed the members of the Security Council that the Governments of Cambodia and Thailand had requested him to appoint a Personal Representative to inquire into accusations of aggression, incursion, and piracy in the border areas which were made by one party and denied by the other. The Secretary-General stated that he had responded affirmatively to this request, believing it would represent a constructive measure entirely within the scope of the U.N. Charter. The Secretary-General appointed Nils G. Gussing of Sweden to undertake the assignment.

Mr. Gussing arrived in the area on October 26, 1962, where he established contact with the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of both countries and conducted a number of investigations on both sides of the international frontier.



On December 18, 1962, the Secretary-General wrote the members of the Security Council that he had "been given to understand" both by Mr. Gussing and by the Representatives of Cambodia and Thailand that, although serious problems remained to be solved, the activities of the U.N. Representative coincided with a lessening of tension between the two countries. The Secretary-General also reported that Cambodia and Thailand had agreed on the desirability of appointing the Special Representative to remain in the area for a period of 1 year commencing January 1, 1963. It was agreed that the Special Representative's terms of reference would, in general, require him to place himself at the disposal of the parties to assist them in solving all problems that had arisen or might arise between them. In due time, it was hoped that consideration might be given to the question of the resumption of diplomatic relations.

As a measure of their good will both Governments agreed to share on an equal basis all costs involved in the Mission of the Special Representative.

### *Dispute Concerning Boundaries Between Venezuela and the Territory of British Guiana*

A new item concerning the boundaries between Venezuela and the territory of British Guiana was included in the agenda of the 17th General Assembly at the request of Venezuela. With its request dated August 18, 1962, Venezuela submitted an explanatory memorandum which stated, *inter alia*, that its rights in regard to the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana had not been fully recognized by the award made in 1899 by an Arbitral Tribunal set up in accordance with the Treaty of Arbitration of 1897 between Venezuela and the United Kingdom. In support of the Venezuelan case, the memorandum adverts to a document left by a legal adviser to the Venezuelan Government during 1897-99 (Severo Mallet Prevost) which was published in 1949 (6 months after the death of its author) in the *American Journal of International Law*. The document purported to describe in detail the circumstances in which the arbitral award was rendered and alleged that the award was the result of a political deal in which Venezuela's legitimate rights had been sacrificed and that the boundary had been drawn arbitrarily, without regard either to the rules of the Treaty of Arbitration or to the applicable principles of international law. After reciting significant parts of this document the memorandum notes that Venezuela had reserved its rights at the Fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Continent in 1951 and at the Tenth Inter-American Conference in

1954. Since then, it was pointed out, Venezuela had approached the United Kingdom with a view to arriving at an amicable solution of the problem before British Guiana should become independent in order to avoid controversy with a newly independent state. Venezuela believed that the United Nations should be informed of the historical and legal reasons why Venezuela was not able to recognize the validity of the arbitral award of 1899 and of the unsuccessful results of its recent efforts to negotiate with the United Kingdom on its boundary with British Guiana.

This boundary problem was referred to the General Assembly's Special Political Committee, which began consideration of the item on November 12, 1962, with a strong statement by the Foreign Minister of Venezuela. He emphasized that Venezuela did not consider the boundary question to be settled, pointing out that at the time of the arbitral award approximately 50,000 square miles were involved and that Venezuela was awarded only 5,000 square miles with the remainder being included within British Guiana. He mentioned that President Grover Cleveland of the United States had encouraged the conclusion of the Treaty of Arbitration and that the Arbitral Tribunal was composed of two British judges, two U.S. judges (Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer of the U.S. Supreme Court), and a fifth jurist (Prof. Frederic de Martens of Russia), who served as President of the Tribunal.

The British case, as presented to the Special Political Committee, pointed out that the conclusion of the treaty and the arbitral award came after many years of controversy which began officially in 1841. The British Representative emphasized the provision in article 13 of the Treaty of Arbitration that "The High Contracting Parties engage to consider the result of the proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration as a full, perfect, and final settlement of all the questions referred to the Arbitrators." Throughout the consideration of this item, the British maintained reliance on this provision and took the position that the issue had been finally settled by the arbitral award of 1899.

The Venezuelan case charged that the very basis of the award was questionable in the light of developments related by Severo Mallet Prevost, a New York lawyer who, along with Benjamin Harrison, former President of the United States, had been retained as adviser to the Venezuelan Government (during the period that the arbitral award was being drawn up). Mr. Mallet Prevost left the document referred to above which was published at his request after his death. The document recounts that shortly before the award was rendered, de Martens joined with the British judges to favor the boundary line

they wanted but that de Martens hoped to gain unanimous agreement on a line which would save for Venezuela the mouth of the Orinoco River and some 5,000 square miles of territory around that mouth. The implication was that the British and Russian arbiters (or their Governments) conspired to force Venezuela to accept the line which gave them the mouth of the Orinoco or nothing. The advisers felt that Venezuela had no alternative but to accept with the result that the Tribunal's award, when eventually made public, was the unanimous decision of the five judges.

During consideration of this item by the Special Political Committee, it became evident that many members were uncertain whether the Assembly should take any action on such a long-standing dispute with so many legal ramifications. Quite a few members were unwilling to do anything which might affect the boundary of British Guiana before it became an independent country, and many felt that the inhabitants of British Guiana should be represented in any discussion of the matter. At least one Representative (Afghanistan) suggested that Venezuela consider referring the dispute to the International Court of Justice.

The U.K. Representative, in speaking to the Committee on November 13, 1962, reiterated the U.K. position that the matter had been settled for many years. But despite this, he announced the United Kingdom was prepared to review the documentation on the case in separate, private meetings with the Venezuelans in which Representatives of British Guiana would also participate.

Senator Gore presented the views of the United States on November 13, 1962. He recalled that as early as 1881 the United States had informed the Venezuelan Government of its opposition to "attempted encroachment of foreign powers upon the territory of any of the republics of this continent" and that in 1882 the United States had suggested arbitration of the dispute if Venezuela so desired. He referred also to President Grover Cleveland's annual message to Congress in 1894 in which he said he would renew efforts to restore diplomatic relations between Venezuela and Great Britain and would try to induce them to refer the boundary dispute to arbitration. The U.S. Representative recalling that the Treaty of Arbitration was signed and ratified in Washington, said that the U.S. delegation did not intend to comment upon the award or upon the substance of the allegations that had been made in the debate in the Committee. However, since both Venezuela and the United Kingdom were good friends of the United States he earnestly hoped that a way could be found to resolve the disagreement amicably. He congratulated the United Kingdom for



agreeing to go over the documentation on the case with Representatives of British Guiana and Venezuela and expressed the hope that the parties would settle the matter peacefully in accordance with the spirit of the Charter.

The U.S. Representative noted the Venezuelan Foreign Minister's statement that Venezuela had no wish to affect adversely the achievement of independence by British Guiana nor the legitimate interests of its people. He emphasized that the United States also looked forward with anticipation to the day when an independent British Guiana with a freely elected, nontotalitarian government representing all the races living there could be welcomed to the United Nations.

When the Special Political Committee considered the item again on November 16, 1962, the Representatives of both Venezuela and the United Kingdom made short, conciliatory statements. Both reserved their respective positions and accepted the idea of reviewing the documentation relevant to this question. Then the chairman of the Committee summed up the situation as follows:

The Committee has heard statements by the Foreign Minister of Venezuela and by the representative of the United Kingdom in which they have set out the positions of their Governments on this matter. The representatives of the Governments of the United Kingdom and Venezuela have authorized me to inform the Committee that, as a result of the conversations held by them in the last few days with regard to the question of the boundaries between Venezuela and the territory of British Guiana, they have agreed, the first of the aforementioned Governments acting with the full concurrence of the Government of British Guiana, that the three Governments shall examine the documentary material available to all parties relevant to this question. For this purpose they will proceed to make the necessary arrangements through diplomatic channels.

I am sure that I am interpreting the feelings of the Committee in saying that, in view of the possibility of direct discussions among the parties concerned, we should not proceed further with our debate here. I feel sure that the Committee will also wish me to express the hope that this procedure agreed among the three parties concerned will be fruitful.

It is my understanding that the parties concerned will inform the United Nations about the results of these conversations.

At the same meeting, on a motion by the Representative of Chile, the Committee decided to adjourn its consideration of the item. Therefore, it had no recommendation to make to the General Assembly.

### *West New Guinea (West Irian)*

On the initiative of Secretary-General U Thant, the dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia over West New Guinea (West Irian) was settled peacefully in 1962, thereby removing a potential threat to peace from the calendar of major international disputes.

## Background

The western half of the island of New Guinea was governed as part of the Netherlands East Indies prior to the establishment of an independent Indonesia. However, the question of the political status of West New Guinea was not settled. Provision was made in the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty for the status of the territory to be decided within 1 year through negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands. Subsequent negotiations ended in disagreement and the Netherlands continued to administer the territory. The Netherlands claimed that its sovereignty over the territory was unaffected by the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty while Indonesia maintained that West New Guinea became an integral part of its sovereign territory on the date of its independence. This dispute was brought before the General Assembly in 1954, 1955, 1956, and 1957 without any significant change in the position of either party. Throughout these debates the United States maintained a policy of neutrality, abstaining on all votes and not participating in the debates.

At the 16th General Assembly in 1961 a new situation was created when Foreign Minister Luns of the Netherlands announced that his country wished to end its administration of the territory provided the rights of the Papuan inhabitants, including their right of self-determination, could be guaranteed. During the debate on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Foreign Minister Luns stated that the Netherlands was prepared to relinquish sovereignty to the peoples and place the territory under an international authority established by or operated under the United Nations. The Netherlands tabled a resolution embodying these proposals.

Foreign Minister Subandrio of Indonesia opposed the Netherlands proposal. He reiterated Indonesia's position and urged that the best solution would be for the Netherlands to transfer immediately its administration directly to Indonesia. If the Netherlands preferred the medium of the United Nations for the transfer, Indonesia was prepared to consider such a proposal seriously.

When it became apparent that neither the Netherlands nor Indonesia could agree with the other's position, a group of 13 French-speaking African states tabled a draft resolution which called for a resumption of Dutch-Indonesian negotiations and in the event agreement was not reached within several months, a U.N. commission to investigate the possibility of an international administrative authority. The draft resolution also stated that the population had the right to decide in the last analysis the status of the territory. India

and eight other members sponsored a draft resolution which urged the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands to engage in further negotiations under the aegis of the President of the General Assembly. Indonesia could not accept the 13-power resolution and the Netherlands could not accept the Indian resolution; when voted upon on November 27, 1961, neither of the draft resolutions obtained the two-thirds majority required for adoption. After the vote, the Netherlands Representative stated that because the 13-power resolution had obtained a simple majority, the Netherlands would proceed in confidence with its plan. However, the Netherlands did not press its draft resolution. Foreign Minister Subandrio announced that Indonesia would proceed in confidence to liberate West New Guinea from colonialism.

In December 1961 reports from West New Guinea and The Hague indicated that a number of clashes had taken place between Indonesian infiltrators and Dutch military forces on the island. On December 19 Secretary-General U Thant addressed identical cables to the Prime Minister of the Netherlands and to the President of Indonesia in which he expressed his concern and asked that no action be taken which could give rise to a threat to peace and security. The Secretary-General also expressed his hope that both parties might come together to seek a peaceful solution.

### Developments During 1962

On January 15, 1962, reports were received that a naval clash had occurred the day before off the coast of West New Guinea during which an Indonesian vessel was sunk. The Secretary-General followed up his December 19 appeals with further messages to Prime Minister De Quay and President Sukarno urging a peaceful solution. On January 17 U Thant asked both Governments to instruct their Permanent Representatives to the United Nations to discuss with him the possibilities of a peaceful settlement—a proposal to which the Netherlands and Indonesia agreed.

The Secretary-General appealed to the Netherlands on January 29 to release the Indonesians taken prisoner as the result of the January 14 engagement. Prime Minister De Quay replied that this would be done "in the hope that this voluntary gesture may contribute to easing the present tension and thus to improve the climate for negotiations between the parties under your auspices." The President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Leopold Boissier, was requested by the Secretary-General to make arrangements for the repatriation of the prisoners, and Andre Durand of Switzerland was desig-



nated to handle these arrangements on the spot. The repatriation was completed on March 11.

Meanwhile the Secretary-General continued his consultations with the Representatives of the two countries, and it was agreed that informal private talks would take place between Representatives of Indonesia and the Netherlands in the presence of a mutually acceptable third party representing the Secretary-General. At the request of U Thant, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, a retired U.S. diplomat, agreed to serve as moderator.

On March 20 a Netherlands delegation headed by Ambassadors H. van Roijen and C. W. A. Schurmann and an Indonesian delegation headed by Ambassador Adam Malik met at a site near Washington, D.C., in the presence of Ambassador Bunker. After preliminary discussions, the talks adjourned on March 22 to enable the delegations to receive further instructions. U Thant subsequently announced that the talks had been suspended and that he had appealed to President Sukarno to agree to a resumption of the discussions.

After further consultations with the parties concerned, Ambassador Bunker put forward certain proposals as a basis for renewed discussions. On May 26 the United Nations released the text of the Bunker Proposals.

#### PROPOSALS FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF INDONESIA AND THE NETHERLANDS

1. The Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands would each sign separate agreements or a single agreement which would be presented to the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. The Government of the Netherlands would stipulate the transfer of administrative authority over West New Guinea to a temporary executive authority under the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations at a specified date. The Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations would appoint a mutually acceptable, non-Indonesian administrator who would undertake to administer the territory for a period of not less than one year but not more than two. This administrator would arrange for the termination of Netherlands administration under circumstances that will provide the inhabitants of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice in accordance with paragraph 4 below. This administrator would replace top Dutch officials with short-term, one year non-Indonesian and non-Dutch officials hired on a contract basis.

3. The temporary executive authority under the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations would administer West New Guinea during the first year with the assistance of non-Indonesian and non-Dutch personnel. Beginning the second year the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations would replace United Nations officials with Indonesian officials, it being understood that by the end of the second year full administrative control would be transferred to Indonesia. United Nations technical assistance personnel will remain in an advisory capacity and to assist in preparation for carrying out the provisions of paragraph 4.

4. Indonesia agrees to make arrangements, with the assistance and participation of the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations and United Nations personnel, to give the people of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice not later than — years after Indonesia has assumed full administrative responsibility for West New Guinea. The Government of the Netherlands would agree to transfer administration in accordance with this proposal on condition that the Government of the Netherlands would receive, as a result of formal negotiations, adequate guarantees for safeguarding the interests, including the right of self-determination, of the Papuans.

5. Indonesia and the Netherlands agree to share the costs of the foregoing.

6. Once this agreement has been signed, the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands will resume normal diplomatic relations.

On May 29, U Thant appealed to the two parties to resume negotiations on the basis of the Bunker Proposals. After further exchanges among the Secretary-General, Indonesia, and the Netherlands, U Thant announced on July 13 that the talks had been resumed "on the basis of the principles of the Bunker plan." On July 31 he expressed his gratification that "a preliminary agreement has been reached by the Indonesian and Netherlands representatives. . . ."

On August 13 formal negotiations under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General were initiated in New York. The final Agreement was signed in the Security Council Chamber on August 15, 1962. *Inter alia* the Agreement provided:

1. The Netherlands will transfer administration of the territory to a United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA);

2. After a period of interim, U.N. administration to last until May 1, 1963, the UNTEA will be replaced by an Indonesian administration;

3. Both the United Nations and Indonesia undertake to guarantee the rights of the Papuan people;

4. Indonesia agrees to invite the United Nations to assist in making arrangements for the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Papuan people no later than 1969; and

5. Indonesia and the Netherlands agree to share the cost of the UNTEA.

Various annexes of the Agreement provided for a cease-fire, for financial arrangements, and for flying the Netherlands, Indonesian, and U.N. flags.

U Thant congratulated the two Governments on the peaceful settlement of the dispute. The Secretary-General observed that the Agreement had several unique features: if endorsed by the General Assembly, the United Nations would have temporary executive authority over a vast territory for the first time in its history; all expenses incurred under the Agreement would be shared by the two Governments and would not impose a burden on any of the other U.N. members. His

task would be facilitated, the Secretary-General declared, by scrupulous adherence on the part of both Governments to the letter and spirit of the Agreement.

On August 16 the United States issued the following announcement: "The resolution of the West New Guinea dispute, through peaceful negotiations, is a source of great satisfaction to us all. The conclusion of the agreement is a tribute to the skill, patience, and good will of the Dutch and Indonesian negotiators, of Acting Secretary General U Thant, and of Ambassador [Ellsworth] Bunker, who served as the Secretary General's moderator in this undertaking."

On the initiative of the Secretary-General an additional item entitled: Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian) was inscribed on the agenda of the 17th General Assembly. On September 21 the General Assembly approved the Agreement by a vote of 89 to 0, with 14 abstentions.

#### United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA)

Forty-eight hours after the signing of the Agreement Brigadier General Indar Jit Rikhye, senior military adviser to the Secretary-General, arrived in Hollandia, the capital of the territory to supervise arrangements for the cease-fire and to make arrangements for the deployment of the U.N. Security Force.

Before UNTEA formally assumed responsibility for the administration of West New Guinea on October 1, the United States was requested by the Secretary-General to provide a number of aircraft with pilots and maintenance crews. These aircraft were required by the United Nations to implement and supervise a cease-fire between Dutch and Indonesian forces as well as to assist in the deployment and logistic support of the troops assigned to the UNTEA Security Force.

During September U.S. transports also undertook the following external airlift operations in support of UNTEA: airlifted from Indonesia over 300 tons of food and stores to Indonesian troops who had landed in West New Guinea before the Agreement; repatriated from West New Guinea to Indonesia 531 Indonesians captured by Dutch authorities; and airlifted from Pakistan an advance party of the 1,500-man Pakistan contingent assigned to the UNTEA Security Force.

Six U.S. helicopters and four twin-engined transports with crews were assigned to facilitate the deployment of the Pakistan contingent and to provide UNTEA with the necessary transport support during



the transition period immediately before and after the United Nations assumed administrative authority.

In early November, after the Pakistanis were deployed and the initial supply problems were solved, the United States withdrew all aircraft except three transports. These latter transports will be required until May 1, 1963, in order to carry out routine supply and reconnaissance missions.

The United States is reimbursed by the United Nations for all costs incurred in its support of UNTEA.

## GENERAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS

### *Appointment of the Secretary-General*

The 17th General Assembly on the afternoon of November 30, 1962, acting on the unanimous recommendation of the Security Council that morning, appointed U Thant of Burma Secretary-General of the United Nations by unanimous vote for a term expiring on November 3, 1966. His appointment was without condition and the facility with which it was accomplished was in marked contrast to the circumstances of his appointment on November 3, 1961, by the 16th General Assembly as Acting Secretary-General to fill out the remainder of the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold's term (which would have ended April 10, 1963). On that occasion the U.S.S.R.'s insistence on its "troika" concept (a proposal to replace the Secretary-General by a three-man executive body representing the Communist, the "neutralist" and the "Western military bloc" states, respectively) in one form or another had necessitated long and difficult negotiations before the negative reaction of the U.N. membership generally to the Soviet proposals induced the U.S.S.R. not to press them further at that time. At the 17th Assembly, the Soviet Union paid only "lip service" to the "troika" concept, it having been apparent throughout the Assembly's session that U Thant enjoyed the widest possible support for a full-term appointment. The normal 5-year term of office was adjusted to meet his own desire that it date from the time he was originally named.

In his address to the Assembly following his appointment, the Secretary-General reaffirmed his oath of office, swearing, in conformity with the U.N. Charter, "not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of my duties from any Government or any other authority external to the Organization." He also paid tribute to the Secretariat, stating that he would continue to call on them, as he had in the

past year, "individually, collectively, or otherwise, as the occasion may demand." He recalled that Dag Hammarskjöld had said that no one could "accept the position of Secretary-General of the United Nations, knowing what it means, except from a sense of duty" and, observing that while his experience had been shorter, expressed the belief "that I do know what that office means, and I accept my extended mandate with humility and out of a sense of duty."

The Secretary-General referred to the urgency of finding a solution to the Congo problem and to the United Nations financial difficulties, declaring that both must "be solved, and soon, if the usefulness of the Organization for the future is not to be seriously affected." He also referred to the Organization's contribution in 1962 to the settlement of the long-standing West New Guinea (West Irian) problem (see page 168) and to the easing of the Cuban crisis (see page 101).

Looking to the years ahead, the Secretary-General expressed the hope that they "would be marked by an improvement in the international climate, and by better understanding of the difficult problems which the world faces today." Only by "good will and mutual understanding and by a spirit of 'give and take'" could they be solved.

In congratulating the Secretary-General on his appointment, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, reiterated his words of the previous year that "we could rejoice that there was available for our service a diplomat of such character, such ability and experience that he could command the unanimous support and confidence of the Organization," noting that in the intervening year we have had "rich evidence of the skill, the patience, the energy and the intelligence with which he has met his formidable and often trying responsibilities."

The U.S. Representative saw the faith of so many nations in U Thant as "testimony to his strength of mind, his clarity of purpose, and, not least, his firm belief in the Charter and the independence and integrity of the office which he holds." The U.S. Representative then said:

A man does not grow overnight. U Thant, as Secretary-General, reflects, I believe, the principles and the aspirations of a life's work devoted to the cause of peace and understanding among all peoples. This General Assembly, by its action now, well serves itself and the world. It demonstrates again the Assembly's determination to be a true parliament of man, faithful only to the law of the Charter and its great goal of ridding this planet of the scourge of war. The full record of this seventeenth session of the General Assembly still remains to be written, but nothing we do in the remaining weeks will surpass in importance what we have done this minute. I say this with full awareness of the critical issues that confront us; for, by reaffirming the integrity of the office of Secretary-General, we have reaffirmed our belief in the United Nations as a vital force in the affairs of men.

This is not the time to talk of the issues that divided some of us in our concept of the office of Secretary-General. Rather it is the time to emphasize that this Organization must grow, that it must flourish, and that it can do so only if it retains its strength and its influence and, most of all, the confidence of the peoples and the Governments of the world. And that is why the United States has opposed any action that would have compromised the exclusively international responsibility of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat. All nations, I believe, large and small, can now take heart in the knowledge that we have a Secretary-General armed with his full powers under the Charter.

These are firm foundations, and today we have again chosen not to undermine them, but to build higher upon them, secure in the knowledge that they will hold fast.

My delegation is accordingly profoundly gratified at the Security Council's unanimous recommendation, at the unanimous choice of this Assembly. If, in this case, the Council has chosen to recommend the date until which the Secretary-General will serve, that, in my delegation's view, does not impair the General Assembly's prerogative to set his term of office and other terms of appointment.

### *U.N. Membership*

The 17th General Assembly, by acclamation, admitted six new states to U.N. membership in 1962—Burundi, Rwanda, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Algeria, and Uganda—thus bringing the total membership to 110.

#### **Burundi and Rwanda**

Burundi and Rwanda, which had previously constituted the U.N. Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration, became independent on July 1, 1962, and were admitted to U.N. membership on the opening day of the 17th session of the General Assembly, September 18, 1962. Previously in its resolution of June 27, 1962, deciding to terminate the trusteeship, the Assembly had recommended their admission to the United Nations upon their having achieved independence; and the Security Council had acted unanimously to recommend their admission on July 26, 1962.

Speaking in the Council on that occasion, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, the U.S. Representative, said:

The peoples of Rwanda and Burundi reached the fulfillment of their inherent right to govern themselves on July 1, 1962, when the independence of the Republic of Rwanda and of the Kingdom of Burundi was proclaimed after 39 years under the stewardship first of the League of Nations, then of the United Nations. We are pleased to note the progressive advance of Rwanda and Burundi towards self-government and independence under Belgium, the Administering Authority, and with the assistance of the Trusteeship Council. As the United States is one of the countries which, from the founding of the trusteeship system, has taken an active interest in the work of the Trusteeship Council, it is with special pride and satisfaction that we welcome the applications of these



nations. We are also happy to acknowledge the efforts of the Belgian Government in carrying out its responsibilities under the trusteeship system and the selfless efforts for many years of the Belgian citizens who have worked in cooperation with the peoples of Rwanda and Burundi. We are gratified that the basis for enduring friendship between Belgium and the two new states has thus been created.

### Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago

Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, two former British dependencies which attained independence on August 6 and August 31, 1962, respectively, were also admitted on the opening day of the 17th General Assembly following a unanimous recommendation by the Security Council on September 12. The U.S. Representative on the Council welcomed the admission of these first new members from the Western Hemisphere, saying that both they and the United Kingdom "deserve the highest praise for the careful, deliberate planning which prepared the way for independence. Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago enter the family of nations equipped with mature and robust political institutions which should serve them well."

### Algeria

Until 1962 the Algerian desire for independence had been a matter of General Assembly concern for 7 consecutive years, beginning in 1955. On July 2, 1962, the Algerian desire was realized in agreement with France. Independence was, however, followed by a period of internal disorder and Algeria did not apply for U.N. membership until September 30 after elections had been held and a government established. The Security Council recommended its admission on October 4 without objection and the Assembly on October 8 acted favorably on this recommendation.

In the Council the U.S. Representative congratulated "the Government and people of Algeria on their independence and on the establishment of their new Government." He spoke of the "wisdom and courage of General de Gaulle, the moderation and sagacity of Algeria's leaders, the forbearance of the Muslim population during the troubled months of bloody and lawless attempts to subvert the peace in Algeria. . . ." He then said:

For the United States, the struggle in Algeria has been over the years the occasion for much soul searching. France is our oldest ally. We share many memories and common experiences. We are happy, therefore, that the independence of Algeria finally came about with the positive participation of France.

No less satisfying to us was the decision of the people of Algeria, who voted on 1 July in favour of independence in cooperation with France. Both coun-

tries have put on record their willingness to continue to cooperate as sovereign partners. . . .

Many of us sat in these chambers when the prospects for a settlement in Algeria seemed all but hopeless. Today other problems face us, which present a prospect that appears equally bleak. But we would like to hope that the statesmanship which was brought to bear on the Algerian problem might serve as an example, indeed an inspiration, for the solution of other problems that trouble and divide the world.

### **Uganda**

The former British territory of Uganda became independent on October 9, 1962, and its admission to the United Nations was recommended unanimously by the Security Council on October 15. The U.S. Representative assured the Council that "we shall vote enthusiastically for the draft resolution" recommending Uganda's admission. He reaffirmed "the desire of the United States to assist in every way both in strengthening Uganda's independence and in this new nation's efforts to achieve the deepest aspirations of its people." He also expressed confidence that "the statesmanship exhibited by the leaders of both Uganda and the United Kingdom" in the peaceful evolution of Uganda to independence "will characterize their future relations." On October 25 Uganda was admitted by the General Assembly to U.N. membership.

### *Chinese Representation*

Ever since 1950 the Soviet bloc and at times certain other states that recognize the Chinese Communist regime have made persistent attempts to replace the Representatives of the Government of the Republic of China with Chinese Communists not only in the major deliberative councils of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies but even in minor technical bodies affiliated with the U.N. system. The United States, on the other hand, has always considered the Government of the Republic of China the only rightful government representing China and has always given full support to the position and to all the rights of that Government in the United Nations. In accordance with this policy, the United States during 1962 again vigorously—and successfully—resisted all efforts to expel Representatives of the Government of the Republic of China from the United Nations and any of its affiliates or subsidiaries and to admit representatives of the Chinese Communist regime in their stead. As in previous years, the major battle over this issue was joined at the U.N. General Assembly which as the principal deliberative body having

political responsibility in the U.N. system is peculiarly qualified to judge the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations.

One day before the opening of the 17th General Assembly, the U.S.S.R. (by letter dated September 17, 1962, to the Secretary-General) requested inclusion of the Chinese representation issue on the agenda as an item of an "important and urgent character." As in 1961 the Soviet item called for "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations." The accompanying explanatory memorandum referred to the Representative of the Government of the Republic of China in particularly abusive terms and, overlooking the serious economic difficulties experienced by the Chinese Communists, asserted that the "People's Republic of China has achieved great successes in the political, economic and social spheres."

When the Assembly's General Committee took up the Soviet request for inscription at its meeting on September 19, 1962, the Representative of the Republic of China protested strongly against the inclusion of the item proposed by the Soviet Union. He was seconded by the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, who stated that since the item proposed by the Soviet Union had already been examined by the General Assembly at its previous session, there was no justification for including it again at the present session. For this reason, and because in the U.S. view China was already satisfactorily represented, the U.S. Representative without pressing the matter to a vote stated that he was opposed to inclusion of the item proposed by the Soviet Union. After a brief discussion the Committee approved without vote the request for inscription and decided to recommend to the General Assembly that the item be allocated to its plenary meeting. On September 24 the General Assembly, over the protest of the Representative of the Republic of China, but also without voting, adopted the recommendation of its General Committee and placed the Soviet item on the agenda.

On October 18 the U.S.S.R. submitted a draft resolution in the plenary, which in its operative paragraph called upon the Assembly "to remove the Chiang Kai-shek representatives from all United Nations organs" and "to invite representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China to occupy China's place in the United Nations and all its organs." The debate on the Soviet item occupied seven meetings of the plenary (as compared with 12 meetings in 1961) between October 22 and 30. In his speech on October 22, U.S. Representative Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson contrasted the violent and aggressive posture of the Chinese Communist regime and its mismanagement of the mainland economy with the constructive role played in



international affairs by the Government of the Republic of China and the success of its economic policies on Taiwan.

Challenging the statement made by the Soviets in their explanatory memorandum that the Chinese Communists are "peace-loving," the U.S. Representative reminded the delegates that even as he was speaking, "brave men are dying in India" trying to protect their land from invasion by "regular units of the Chinese Communist forces acting under precise orders." The U.S. Representative also stressed that since the General Assembly had last debated the issue of Chinese representation, Chinese Communist leaders had again publicly threatened to "liberate Taiwan at any time and by any means"; had pledged support for the Communist North Vietnamese in their undeclared war on the people of South Viet-Nam; had repeatedly shouted defiance at the United Nations over Korea and Tibet; and had promoted "violent revolution thousands of miles away from China in the heart of Africa." Warning that "those who speak in support of the admission of the Chinese Communists into the United Nations inevitably lend support and encouragement to the concepts which today govern the actions and policies of this regime, thereby endangering the principles of the United Nations Charter," the U.S. Representative urged the delegates to recognize "as they have time and time again these past 13 years, that force is not a passport for membership in the United Nations."

After a debate, in which well over 50 speakers participated, the General Assembly on October 30 voted on the Soviet draft resolution. Just prior to this, the Tunisian Representative, Ambassador Taieb Slim, asked that the Assembly vote separately on the two clauses of the operative paragraph of the Soviet draft resolution. The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Valerian A. Zorin, immediately objected to this proposal, explaining that the Soviet draft resolution was indivisible since it was designed "to settle this question once and for all, without creating a possibility for the existence of so-called 'two Chinas'." In the face of the Soviet opposition, the Tunisian Representative did not press his proposal and the final action was taken by rollcall vote on the resolution as a whole.

The Soviet resolution was decisively defeated by an absolute majority of the U.N. membership. The vote was 42 (Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Laos, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Rumania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., the U.K., and Yugoslavia), to 56 (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil,

Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, the U.S., Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yemen), with 12 abstentions (Austria, Cyprus, Iceland, Israel, Lebanon, Malaya, Netherlands, Nigeria, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Togo, and Trinidad and Tobago).

Undeterred by the outcome of this vote, the U.S.S.R. again raised the Chinese representation issue at the December 20, 1962, meeting of the Credentials Committee (consisting of Representatives of Canada, El Salvador, Greece, Guinea, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.). The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Platon D. Morozov, introduced a draft resolution providing that the Credentials Committee "having considered the credentials of the group of persons calling themselves the representatives of China, resolve to consider these credentials invalid in view of their contradiction with Rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly." The Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Bitsios of Greece, recalling that the General Assembly had already taken a decision on the matter at its 1162d plenary meeting, ruled that the U.S.S.R. draft resolution was out of order. The Soviet Representative challenged the chairman's ruling, but the Committee upheld the latter by a vote of 5 (Canada, El Salvador, Greece, Mexico, and the U.S.), to 2 (Guinea and the U.S.S.R.), with 2 abstentions (Indonesia and Nigeria).

On December 20, 1962, the General Assembly voted 73 to 4, with 23 abstentions, to approve the report of the Credentials Committee as a whole. The negative votes and most of the abstentions apparently related to those parts of the report that concerned the credentials of the Yemeni and Hungarian delegations. Several states, including Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Cambodia, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Nepal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yugoslavia, expressed oral reservations concerning the Committee's action on Chinese credentials, but voted in favor of the report as a whole. The U.K. Representative, in a statement made subsequent to the voting, explained that his government's approval of the report should not, necessarily, be taken as implying recognition of the authorities by whom the credentials had been issued.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the principle established by the 16th General Assembly that any proposal to change the repre-

sensation of China is an "important question," requiring a two-thirds majority for adoption in accordance with article 18(2) of the U.N. Charter, was not formally challenged. In his statement in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly on October 22 the Soviet Representative, Ambassador Zorin, did express the view that "it is absurd to attempt to present this question as requiring a two-thirds majority of votes for its solution." The United States considers that the decision by the 16th General Assembly establishes this question as "important" within the meaning of article 18(2) unless the General Assembly formally reverses it.

### *Improvement of the Methods of Work of the General Assembly*

The President of the 16th session of the General Assembly, Mongi Slim of Tunisia, in April 1962 transmitted to U.N. members a memorandum setting forth his suggestions for improving the procedures and methods of work of the Assembly so that it can produce "rapid and fruitful results." The Tunisian U.N. Representative followed up this initiative in August by proposing that an item be put on the agenda of the 17th session entitled: "Improvement of the methods of work of the General Assembly." The Tunisian explanatory memorandum emphasized the need for streamlining the operation of the Assembly and suggested that most of the improvements could be made within the framework of the existing rules of procedure.

The item proposed by Tunisia was considered on October 30, 1962, when the President of the Assembly, Sir Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan, during a plenary meeting proposed that the matter be referred to an *ad hoc* committee with the following membership: the 13 vice presidents of the 17th session (the Representatives of Australia, Belgium, China, Colombia, France, Guinea, Haiti, Jordan, Malagasy Republic, Rumania, the U.S.S.R., the U.K., and the U.S.) ; the three past presidents of the Assembly who were still members of their delegations (Padilla Nervo of Mexico, Belaunde of Peru, and Boland of Ireland) ; the chairman of the Tunisian delegation since Tunisia proposed the item, and Sir Zafrulla Khan as *ex officio* chairman. This proposal was adopted without objection on the understanding, as explained by Sir Zafrulla Khan, that the Committee would study available documentation and any suggestions that might be made by members of the United Nations and report to the Assembly when it was ready to do so with recommendations on how to improve Assembly procedures.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee described above first met on November 13, 1962, and elected Ambassador Boland (Ireland) as vice chairman and Ambassador Taieb Slim (Tunisia) as rapporteur. The Com-



mittee decided to review the Assembly's methods of organizing its sessions, distributing its work, and conducting effective debates rather than to review the existing rules of procedure, which were considered generally satisfactory. The Committee also decided to request U.N. members and the chairmen of the main General Assembly committees of both the 16th and 17th sessions to submit their views on the original proposals of Mongi Slim and any further suggestions they might have in writing. This was done and the Secretariat compiled all the suggestions that were submitted in a working paper for consideration by the Committee.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee met again on December 11, 1962, when it had before it the compilation of replies from 30 delegations, suggestions from certain of the chairmen of the main committees, and other working papers prepared by the Secretariat. At a meeting on December 17 the Committee heard statements by the chairmen of the General Assembly's Third (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural), Fourth (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories), and Fifth (Administrative and Budget) Committees. In view of the large amount of material presented the *Ad Hoc* Committee proposed that the Assembly authorize it to continue its work, with the same membership, after the close of the 17th session. A resolution to this effect, requesting the Committee to transmit a report with recommendations to the Secretary-General by May 31, 1963, for circulation to member states and recommending that priority be given to this item on the agenda of the 18th session, was adopted without objection at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly on December 19, 1962.

The suggestions submitted to the *Ad Hoc* Committee, including those submitted by the United States, covered many aspects of the work of the Assembly; submission of draft resolutions before the discussion of an item, elimination of general debate on certain items, grouping of related agenda items, early closing of the list of speakers and adhering to the order of speakers on that list, limiting rights of reply and explanation of votes, elimination of excessive recourse to points of order, time limits on speeches, and the introduction of mechanical means of voting.

One of the most important suggestions, which would require a change in the rules of procedure, involves changing the time of convening the regular sessions of the General Assembly. In his first memorandum on this general subject, Mongi Slim suggested that the Assembly meet 2 weeks earlier each year, on the first rather than the third Tuesday in September. He thought that this might provide enough additional time to finish the normal work of the Assembly in December of each year, thus making resumed sessions unnecessary; and that this arrangement would be preferable to another sug-

gestion that the Assembly start its work in January and complete it by the beginning of May. This idea of changing the time of Assembly sessions was mentioned in the written comments submitted to the *Ad Hoc* Committee by several U.N. members. Some favored opening earlier in September while an almost equal number opposed it. Two of those who commented favored holding sessions in the spring, beginning in January, February, or March.

All of these and other proposals will receive extended attention by the *Ad Hoc* Committee in 1963.

### *Charter Review*

The General Assembly decided again at its 17th session to postpone any decision on the time and place of a U.N. Charter review conference. An Assembly Committee of the Whole had met on September 5, 1962, for the fourth time to consider the question of convening such a conference. This Committee had been established by the 10th General Assembly to make recommendations on the time and place of a Charter review conference and on its organization and procedures, and had been kept in being by the 12th, 14th, and 16th General Assemblies. All the Committee's meetings have been quite perfunctory in nature, and of brief duration. They have resulted only in the recommendation that the Committee be kept in being and be requested to report again. The consensus of all the meetings has been that the "auspicious international circumstances" referred to in the 10th General Assembly resolution deciding that a review conference should be held at "an appropriate time" did not pertain. The resolution adopted by the Committee in 1962 referred to its previous resolutions and recommended that the Committee be kept in being and invited to meet again "not later than July 1963" in order to report to the 18th General Assembly. This recommendation was accepted by the Assembly in plenary on October 23, 1962, without debate or objection.

At the 1962 meeting of the Committee on Arrangements for a Charter Review Conference, most of the speakers, while endorsing the holding of a review conference in principle, agreed that the international atmosphere was still not propitious for constructive review. The Nigerian Representative however, argued that a conference should be held immediately "without waiting for the international atmosphere to improve" and appealed to the U.S.S.R. to reconsider its position regarding the admission of the Chinese Communists. The Ghanaian Representative proposed the July 1963 deadline adopted by the Committee for its next meeting on the ground that the need for Charter review is more urgent than ever in view of the in-

crease in the U.N. membership. It was particularly desirable, he said, that the membership of the principal U.N. organs "be reviewed in order to ensure that seats were equitably distributed and to reflect the growing importance of Africa in the Organization." The Mauritanian Representative contended that the founders of the United Nations "had never intended the Charter to reflect only the views of its original Members" but rather that it should be "a flexible mechanism which would reflect the views of all the membership at any time." It was, therefore, "imperative to revise the Charter." The Indian Representative declared that "the membership of the principal United Nations organs should be modified with a view to their reflecting the Organization's existing composition." They failed in their present form, he said, "to represent important sectors of its membership."

General agreement was expressed on the need to expand the principal U.N. organs though a number of delegates pointed out that this could be done more simply and effectively through the ordinary amendment process than through full-scale review of the Charter. The Soviet Representative, however, again reiterated the long-standing Soviet position that a Charter review conference is "an impossibility" so long as the "rights" of the Chinese Communists in the United Nations have not been "restored."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, stated that "the United States continues, as it has in the past, to support the convening of a review conference whenever a substantial majority of the members of this organization believe that the time is propitious." However, he commented, "the prospects are not favorable." Observing that it was generally understood that a review conference "must be based on general agreement as to its objectives," he noted that "such general agreement does not exist," citing the U.S.S.R.'s introduction of the "irrelevant issue of Chinese representation" into the Committee's discussions as a case in point. In light of the absence of such general agreement and "the unfortunate lack of improvement in the international situation" since the Committee's last meeting, he said, "we do not think the Committee should now set a time and place for a Charter Review Conference."

Concluding his remarks, the U.S. Representative stated :

There are certain amendments to the Charter which in our opinion are advisable and which need not await the holding of the General Review Conference. Thus, the United States has vigorously supported and does vigorously support an enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to take into account the expansion in the membership of the United Nations. We entirely agree with the distinguished representative of Ghana that differences of opinion as to the representation of China should not prevent consideration of



amendments to that effect. Furthermore, amendments to that effect need not await the General Review Conference and the United States would welcome amendments to that effect and would be prepared to consider other desirable amendments to the Charter all without reference to a General Review Conference. It seems to us that there is a clear distinction between, on the one hand, a General Review Conference, which under present conditions does not seem practicable and, on the other hand, the proposal of specified amendments of the Charter I have referred to, which, as I have said, the United States would warmly welcome and vigorously support.

In the meantime, the United States will continue to support all efforts to develop the existing mechanisms and procedures of the United Nations and to encourage the growth of new instrumentalities within the framework of the present Charter.

### *U.N. Year for International Cooperation*

Prime Minister Nehru of India, during an address to the General Assembly in November 1961, suggested that the United Nations should place more emphasis on the ways in which member states are cooperating and that such cooperation be stressed during a year specially designated for that purpose. At the request of India, an item entitled "United Nations Year for International Cooperation" was added to the agenda of the 16th session. The Assembly, however, decided on December 20, 1961, to postpone consideration of the item until the 17th session.

In its explanation of the item, India had recommended that the General Assembly designate a particular year during which greater attention would be focused on measures of international cooperation being undertaken through the activities of governments and peoples. In the 17th General Assembly, India followed up its previous general proposal with the specific recommendation that 1965—the 20th anniversary of the United Nations—be designated as a special "international cooperation year." A draft resolution was introduced in a plenary meeting by India and 20 cosponsors. After short statements by the principal cosponsors, India and Canada, on December 19, 1962, the draft resolution was adopted unanimously by a vote of 87 to 0. The United States was not a cosponsor but voted for the resolution.

The resolution, as adopted: expresses, *inter alia*, the belief that the world would be well served by both an increased awareness of the existing level of international cooperation and by a marked increase in the number of projects in diverse fields jointly undertaken on an international basis; requests the President of the Assembly to nominate a preparatory committee of up to 12 member states; requests that committee to consider the desirability of designating 1965 as an "International Cooperation Year" and to report to the Assembly at its 18th

session on the feasibility and financial implications of this proposal; requests the committee to report on measures and activities that might be undertaken by member states and by and through Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); invites nongovernmental organizations having consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, the Specialized Agencies or the IAEA, and other interested organizations in member states to begin making plans for special efforts and projects for the "International Cooperation Year," and to render assistance to the preparatory committee; and requests the Secretary-General to provide all necessary facilities to the preparatory committee for the accomplishment of its tasks.

The members of the preparatory committee established by this resolution had not been appointed by the President of the Assembly prior to the end of 1962.

## *Cooperation in the Economic, Social, Scientific, and Human Rights Fields*

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### UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT DECADE

The first major initiative taken by President Kennedy in the economic and social field in the United Nations was his proposal to the 16th session of the General Assembly, in September 1961, that the 1960's be designated the United Nations Decade of Development. The General Assembly unanimously adopted this proposal and laid out guidelines for the planning and implementation of accelerated and intensified development programs within the U.N. system, including the Specialized Agencies.

Acting on the request of the Assembly, the Secretary-General prepared a comprehensive report entitled "The United Nations Development Decade—Proposals for Action" for the 34th session of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). In the preparation of this report the Secretary-General had the full cooperation of the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Presenting the report to the Council, Secretary-General U Thant referred to the U.N. Development Decade as a "truly great enterprise which, second only to the safeguarding of peace itself, is the most important task of the United Nations today."

The United States believes that the U.N. Development Decade has become the rallying point for the kind of concerted international action, in a spirit of partnership, that is necessary if a breakthrough on a broad front is to be achieved in assuring a measure of self-sustaining growth in the less developed countries. Such a breakthrough is essential in order to buttress the political independence of the currently emerging states by the development of viable economies and strong democratic institutions.



Ambassador Adlai Stevenson presented the U.S. position on the Secretary-General's "Proposals for Action" at the 34th session of ECOSOC in July 1962. He said:

So we are united in concept—now we must unite in action. The dream must become the deed. . . .

It is a gigantic task. It requires, for example, the most massive programs of education and professional training ever undertaken—in the knowledge that human talent is our most precious and least developed resource.

It requires that a proper share of the world's enormous scientific and technical genius be focussed on the neglected problems of the developing nations.

It requires a much larger flow of international capital investment—in which private investors must play a major part.

It requires intensive surveys of the natural resources of all emerging countries, including some which only a few years ago were thought to be hopelessly lacking in national wealth.

It requires balanced development of industry and of agriculture.

It requires bold housing and urban development plans to meet the rapid rise in the population of cities.

It requires dependable export earnings by the emerging nations as a source of vital savings for their own development plans—which in turn means a revitalized program of international action in this field.

It requires the further growth and coordination of international institutions, both regional and world-wide, under the auspices of the United Nations.

Finally, and perhaps most crucially of all, this great world plan requires good country plans. The decision to develop or not to develop is, above all, an act of the national will. A nation's brain power, its water power, the power of fuels buried in its soil—all these will stay buried without will power.

The developing nations of today have set out to achieve in a decade, or at most a generation, what other nations have only done in a century or more. In this process they themselves must supply most of the capital and still more of the human talent. They must supply the self-discipline to save and invest, and the courage to reform ancient practices in such fields as land tenure, tax collection and government administration. These are the hardest tasks in the Development Decade, and they fall on the governments and peoples of the developing nations themselves.

The ECOSOC responded to U.S. leadership and on the basis of the Secretary-General's report adopted a resolution that further defined the concept of the Decade and enumerated particular areas which called for intensified action. These included: industrial development; access to world markets in order to promote the export trade of developing countries; international commodity arrangements to stabilize at remunerative levels the prices of primary commodities on international markets, and sound compensatory arrangements to mitigate excessive price fluctuations; the encouragement by regional and sub-regional economic groupings of economic policies which avoid and eliminate obstacles to the trade of the less developed countries; increasing the in-flow of long-term development capital; the development of human resources through adequate programs for education

and vocational training, health, public administration, housing, urban and rural development, land reform, and the exploration and exploitation of natural resources.

In light of these objectives the Secretary-General was asked to prepare, in cooperation with the Specialized Agencies, regional economic commissions and other bodies and agencies of the U.N. family, a program consisting of detailed, phased proposals for action. In addition, the ECOSOC established a Special Committee on Coordination with particular emphasis on the U.N. Development Decade. This Committee, consisting of 11 members including the United States, will keep under review the activities of the United Nations and its agencies in the economic, social, human rights and related fields in the U.N. Development Decade; will consider where appropriate, in consultation with the agencies concerned, priority areas or projects relating to the objectives of the Decade, and will submit recommendations on these matters to the Council at its 36th session.

### *United Nations Institutes*

During the 17th General Assembly, the United States and 14 other U.N. members sponsored a resolution requesting the Secretary-General to study the feasibility and desirability of establishing a United Nations Institute or training program under U.N. auspices, in connection with the Development Decade. It is envisaged that financing will be by public and private contributions. This resolution, which was adopted in plenary by a vote of 85 to 0, with 6 abstentions, recognizes the importance of providing and training personnel of the highest caliber (particularly from the newer member states) for national service and service with the United Nations and Specialized Agencies if the objectives of the Development Decade are to be fulfilled. The Secretary-General is to submit his report to the 36th session of the Council and to the 18th General Assembly.

With regard to the activities of the "Institute" or "program," the General Assembly suggested that they might include: training of personnel, particularly from the newer members of the United Nations, for administrative and operational assignments with the organizations of the U.N. system, both at Headquarters and in the field; advanced training for persons now serving in such posts; and research activities and seminars on U.N. operations.

Also in connection with the Development Decade, the Netherlands announced that it was prepared to make a special contribution of the equivalent of a million dollars to finance a U.N. Research Institute for Social Development which would be established in Geneva. The Gen-

eral Assembly accepted this generous offer. The purpose of the Institute will be to conduct, over a period of 3 to 5 years beginning in 1964, research on problems of social development policy and on the relationships between various types of social development and economic development at different phases of economic growth. The Institute will be an autonomous U.N. activity, under the supervision of a Board whose Chairman will be appointed by the Secretary-General. The Board will report to the Social Commission and to the ECOSOC. It is not anticipated that there will be any additional financial requirements that the United Nations will be called upon to meet in the immediate future.

In this same field the regional economic commissions also moved ahead with the creation of institutions designed to accelerate the economic and social development of the areas. The ECOSOC approved the recommendation of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) to establish the Latin American Economic and Social Planning Institute under the aegis of ECLA. Steps are being taken to establish similar institutes under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the Economic Commission for the Far East (ECAFE).

All these activities are directed toward the central objective of the Decade, which is to achieve accelerated economic and social progress toward self-sustaining growth.

## TECHNICAL COOPERATION AND CAPITAL ASSISTANCE

One of the major roles of the United Nations in attaining the objectives of the U.N. Development Decade (see pages 188-191)—a role of providing assistance in the form of experts, fellowships, and equipment to bring about more rapid economic progress in the developing countries—will be carried out within the context of the U.N. Technical Cooperation Program. Although relatively small in relation to need and in comparison with bilateral aid programs, the U.N. Technical Cooperation programs have been growing in size and effectiveness in the past year. Paul Hoffman, an American now serving as Managing Director of the Special Fund, reported to the General Assembly's Economic and Financial (Second) Committee in December of 1962:

In the absence of agreed definitions and accurate statistics on the flow of technical and pre-investment assistance, I have, with the help of experts, tried to make some intelligent guesses. Here are the results: in 1959, some \$450



million of such assistance was provided, \$65 million of it being channeled through the United Nations family of organizations. The total rose to \$475 million in 1960, with the United Nations supplying some \$90 million. For 1961 the totals were about \$500 million and \$120 million. By this year, 1962, some \$600 million of pre-investment assistance was being provided of which \$156 million was through the United Nations system. On the basis of earmarkings, about \$650 million of pre-investment assistance will be provided in 1963, some \$185 million of it through the United Nations.

These figures show significant progress in the use of the United Nations for the provision of technical and pre-investment assistance, its share being 14 percent in 1959, 19 percent in 1960, 24 percent in 1961, 26 percent in 1962 and rising to 28 percent this coming year.

### *Technical Cooperation Programs*

In 1962 the U.N. Technical Cooperation programs, which include the U.N. Regular program, the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA), and the Special Fund, provided approximately \$115 million of the \$156 million referred to by the Director of the Special Fund.

#### **United Nations Regular Programs**

The U.N. regular programs totaling \$6.4 million are made up of the various technical assistance activities provided for in General Assembly resolutions and funded from the U.N. budget. The activities are subdivided into the fields of: (1) economic development (\$2,032,300), (2) public administration (\$1,095,000), (3) operational and executive personnel (\$850,000), (4) advisory social welfare services (\$2,105,000), (5) narcotics control (\$75,000), and (6) human rights (\$140,000).

#### **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

The main feature of the program in economic development during 1962 was the emphasis given to the rapid growth of projects in the newly independent countries in Africa. As of October 1962 over 75 percent of the total expenditures were incurred for this area alone. Africa's share of the global total of 159 experts and 250 fellowships by October was 107 experts and 195 fellows. Another important development has been the growth of regional projects, reaching 37 percent of the total cost in 1962.

Considerable attention was placed on developing projects in the field of natural resources development and power. Stress tended to be laid more and more on basic surveys of resources, and many of the

projects were concerned with surface and ground water resources. Mining and geology constituted another important group, and cartographic activities were given increased support.

#### PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The number of projects in public administration increased markedly in 1962 over previous years with over 90 experts working in 29 countries by the end of September. Most of the increase was attributable to requests from newly independent countries. Public administration consultants, filling a long felt need, were also assigned to the regional economic commissions.

A new program called the United Nations Inter-Municipal Technical Assistance Program (UNITAP) has been undertaken in collaboration with the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA), to enable cities in developing countries to obtain municipal experts of other countries when municipal councils are willing to make their services available without reimbursement.

#### OPERATIONAL AND EXECUTIVE PERSONNEL (OPEX)

As of October 1962, 59 posts in the governments of the less developed countries were filled by experts recruited and partially paid by the United Nations under the Operational and Executive Personnel (OPEX) program. In 33 countries 105 posts were established although only about 75 were filled for all or part of the year. The assignments ranged from the Deputy Director-General of Posts in Afghanistan to Government Statistician in Western Samoa and also included bank managers, treasury directors, engineers, and other skilled personnel essential to the operations of a modernizing government.

#### ADVISORY SOCIAL SERVICES

Over 250 experts were assigned and nearly 220 fellowships were awarded under the Advisory Social Services' 1962 programs by the end of September. The fields covered included housing and urbanization, community development, population, organization and administration of public services, crime prevention, and family and child welfare.

The year was characterized by a substantial increase in requests from Africa and by especially heavy demands in the fields of housing and family and child welfare services. Community development continued to be an important facet of the program.

### NARCOTICS CONTROL

One of the chief elements in the Narcotics Control program is the use of regional technical assistance projects in narcotics control. Among the projects undertaken in 1962 was a tour by a group of experts to countries of the Middle East whose governments had indicated an interest in strengthening controls over narcotic drugs. In view of the number of countries which expressed interest in the project, it was necessary to divide it into two parts, the first of which involved visits during February–April to Aden, Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Republic. It is expected that the second part will be carried out in 1963.

Another Narcotics Control project was a meeting of the Consultative Group on the Problems of the Coca Leaf, held at Lima, Peru, from November 26 to December 8, 1962. The United States participated in this seminar, which discussed the various economic and social factors involved in coca leaf cultivation, and considered the possibilities of multilateral and bilateral technical assistance in finding economic alternatives to the growing of coca leaf.

The 1962 Narcotics Control program also provided for 4 fellowships which were awarded to citizens of Indonesia, Mexico, Thailand, and the United Arab Republic, for the study of narcotics control and the rehabilitation of addicts. In addition, a small amount of money was provided for a library of films on various aspects of narcotics control.

### ADVISORY SERVICES IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS

In the human rights field, technical assistance continued through a program of advisory services designed to meet needs on a regional and country basis. Three seminars were organized. A seminar on freedom of information met in New Delhi with participation from neighboring countries in Asia. Another seminar on family law was held in Tokyo with participation by representatives of Far Eastern countries. The seminar on judicial and other remedies for abuse of administrative authority met in Stockholm with participants from European countries. In Tokyo the United States was represented by an observer delegation headed by Mrs. Gladys A. Tillett. Women from the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands also attended the Tokyo seminar as observers—the first time women from this area have participated in a U.N. seminar under this program.

As a result of U.S. initiative in the General Assembly in 1961, budget provision was made for fellowships in the field of human rights. The primary purpose of these fellowships was to aid government officials and others carrying responsibility for legal interpreta-



tion, administration, and promotion of human rights concepts. Thirty-three applications were received by the United Nations from 18 governments, and by the end of 1962 between 12 and 16 fellowships had been awarded. In the selection of applicants priority was given to persons already in government service who could make immediate use of experience and observation in other countries. In view of the large number of applicants, the United States took the lead at the 17th General Assembly in urging some expansion of funds for this purpose in 1963—a move that received wide support.

### **Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA)**

The Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA) under the administration of the Technical Assistance Board (TAB) and the guidance of the Technical Assistance Committee (TAC) of ECOSOC continued its steady growth in 1962. From its first program of \$6,436,000 in 1950–51, EPTA progressed to a program totaling \$81,460,000 in 1961–62. The funds are obtained from voluntary contributions of states members of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, with a U.S. contribution of 40 percent of the total in 1962.

EPTA serves as a source of funds for technical assistance activities, aside from the activities carried out under regular budget appropriations for the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. As an indication of some of the tangible achievements of EPTA, the Executive Chairman of TAB reported on June 25, 1962, to a meeting of TAC:

Dependable irrigation has been provided to about 32,000 hectares of land in Afghanistan in connection with the Adgmir and Archi canal improvement projects on which FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] is advising. Agricultural production in the country has also increased as a result of the reconstruction of old canals, and the success realized so far has encouraged farmers to ask the Government to extend the improvements in other parts of the country. In Colombia, a joint ECLA [Economic Commission for Latin America]-United Nations-FAO advisory group, attached to the Economic Planning Board, has assisted in the preparation of the country's first economic and social plan. It envisages a 5.5 percent annual increment in Colombia's gross national income during the coming decade, and includes a four-year public investment plan which has already been approved by the Colombian Government. In Ecuador, the work of an FAO expert on African palm oil will result in the introduction of a virtually new industry, for which the Inter-American Development Bank has already approved a loan of \$2.5 million.

Education and training is a field of high priority under the EPTA program. The Executive Chairman also reported some of the successes in this field.

In Morocco, a UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization] project relating to the use of radio for educational purposes has

resulted in the installation of some 1,200 radio receivers in different schools. Some 200,000 pupils in the primary age group are being reached by educational broadcasts. In Indonesia, a ten-year project for the training of civil aviation personnel has been responsible for the training of over 650 technicians in the various aviation specialties. By the end of the year, we expect that the training academy will be entirely managed by Indonesian personnel.

The Government of Lebanon has expressed satisfaction with the ILO [International Labor Organization]-assisted trade school project; so too has the Director of the Institute of Industrialists on behalf of the private firms whose workers have been attending courses at the school. The workers, whose salaries have been paid by their firms during the period of training, have responded with enthusiasm to this opportunity to improve their knowledge and skills.

In the important field of health, a Health Training Institute, established in Libya by the World Health Organization (WHO) using EPTA funds, has already begun to supply health assistants and sanitarians, and its graduates have met an urgent need in supplementing the services of the limited number of professional staff. The program of the Institute has been designed to produce, in successive groups, sanitarians, health assistants, and laboratory technicians, and it is expected that it will also provide training for male nurses.

The United States was also a recipient of assistance from EPTA in a small way through the 1961-62 program. Puerto Rico and the U.S. Trust Territory in the Pacific received projects amounting to \$25,807, consisting primarily of fellowships.

As of December 31, 1962, 1,722 experts were working in 112 countries and territories on EPTA projects; 146 of these were U.S. nationals.

The report of the then *ad hoc* Committee of Eight (see page 201) dominated the TAC sessions for 1962. This Committee—the idea for which was first presented by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs Harlan Cleveland in an address before TAC in 1961—was established by an ECOSOC resolution. In its report to TAC the Committee examined the additional steps necessary to coordinate more fully the technical assistance activities of the U.N. family. As the largest single contributor to U.N. technical assistance programs, the United States had assumed a dominant role in the deliberations of the Committee of Eight, and had heavily influenced its recommendations. The United States therefore strongly supported the Committee's report during the TAC meeting and introduced a draft resolution asking that the Committee continue its work on an expanded basis and urging rapid implementation of its recommendations. The draft resolution also requested that the U.N. Secretary-General undertake the studies concerning the advantages and disadvantages of a merger of the U.N. Special Fund and EPTA recommended by the Committee of Eight in paragraph 81 of the

report. In July 1962 the 34th session of the ECOSOC accepted the U.S.-sponsored draft resolution submitted by TAC.

On only one point during the TAC discussions was there a serious objection by the United States. The 1963-64 program which was adopted at the November TAC session contained provisions for \$405,000 in projects for Cuba, out of a total program of \$83,419,000. Although the Cuban portion showed a decline from the amount approved for the 1961-62 program (\$445,883), the United States does not approve of U.N. technical assistance to Cuba under conditions presently prevailing in that country. Herman Kleine, speaking for the United States, stated in the TAC meeting:

The U.S. is opposed to the inclusion of any amounts for U.N. technical assistance projects in Cuba, except those which can be justified on humanitarian grounds, such as public health projects. [The public health portion of the Cuban program totals \$152,000 for the 2 years.] We are aware that the amounts we are speaking of are relatively minor, but there is a principle involved here, and that is that no technical assistance funds unrelated to humanitarian projects such as public health projects should be provided to a government which resists the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations. We sincerely hope that the U.N. Technical Assistance Board will take these views into account in carrying out the U.N. Expanded Technical Assistance Program for 1963-1964.

Contributions to EPTA have nearly reached the minimum goal of \$50 million which the United States considers necessary to permit EPTA to carry out its assignments in the U.N. Decade of Development. Contributions for 1963 announced as of November 30, 1962, amounted to approximately \$49 million as compared to government pledges of \$45 million for 1962. The U.S. contribution to EPTA, under the 40 percent matching proviso, will be about \$20 million in 1962 and about \$21.5 million in 1963. Government pledges for 1962 totaled \$116 million—\$61 million for the Special Fund and \$45 million for EPTA.

At the 34th session of the ECOSOC meeting at Geneva in July-August 1962, a resolution was approved unanimously authorizing the participation of the Universal Postal Union (UPU—see page 242) in the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance. The UPU will undertake projects assisting developing countries, particularly the newly independent countries, in establishing postal services.

### Special Fund

The Special Fund was established in 1959 to finance larger scale and longer term projects than those implemented by EPTA, and to concentrate especially on preinvestment type projects which develop opportunities for major investment of new capital.



For the year 1962, members of the U.N. system pledged contributions totaling some \$61 million to the U.N. Special Fund. The U.S. pledge will amount to about \$25 million of this with the provision that it will supply 40 percent of total contributions to the Special Fund and EPTA up to a maximum U.S. contribution for both programs of \$60 million. Pledges for 1963 announced for the Special Fund as of November 30, 1962, totaled about \$70 million of which the United States will provide about \$29 million.

At the two sessions of the U.N. Special Fund Governing Council held in 1962, 89 projects were approved, for which the Special Fund will contribute nearly \$80 million. The total of approved projects at the end of the year stood at 246, with Special Fund contributions of over \$210 million and government counterpart contributions of about \$287 million. Authorization had been given to start work on 169 of the projects by the end of November and four projects had been successfully completed.

The Managing Director of the Special Fund, Paul Hoffman, reported at a recent session of the Governing Council that at the end of 1962 advances had been made in project execution and in the achievement of tangible results. He also stated that the projects completed have already proved to be vital elements in the economic advancement of the countries in which they have been undertaken.

The United States has joined with other members of the Governing Council in urging that followup reports on investments resulting from completed projects be presented in reports to the Council. In response to this request, the Managing Director has reported that in the case of the first project completed, in June 1960, in accordance with a recommendation of a Special Fund financial preinvestment survey executed by the World Bank, over \$300 million in investment from internal and international sources had come forth to implement the expansion of Argentine power production. Another Argentine project, a transport study, was completed in 1962, and its recommendations for highway, railway, and river transport programs, if followed, will result in an investment of \$2.9 billion for 1962-71.

In February 1962 a hydraulic development project was concluded in the Republic of China, one result of which was the loan of \$3.7 million to the Government by the International Development Association (IDA, see page 207) to defray the cost of drilling 765 wells in the next 3 years. In this project, modifications in the construction and design of levees for flood control were suggested by the experts, equipment for laboratory research and sedimentation control was installed, and instruction given in its operation.

Also reported was the successful completion of a project in Thailand, the first of several preinvestment surveys of the possibilities of

the multipurpose development of the lower Mekong River Basin in Southeast Asia. The initial cost to carry out the recommendations of this survey is estimated at \$20.9 million. If the development program envisaged can be carried out, it will provide irrigation water for more intensified agriculture, electric energy at rates which will encourage the development of industry, some degree of flood control, and a general raising of the living standards of the people residing in the area.

Several developments of interest occurred during the year concerning the administration and scope of the Fund's operations. A financial working group recommended the adoption of a financial policy which will limit the amount of projects approved to the amount of resources (contributions) for any year. Also, the U.S. proposal that the Special Fund consider establishing a financial advisory service to provide countries with information on existing sources of capital received serious study, although no definite conclusions have yet been reached.

The United States has made suggestions and proposals now actively under consideration by the United Nations concerning the U.N. technical cooperation programs in general. One of these is the study of the feasibility of merging EPTA and the Special Fund as one program. Another is to establish a continuing and objective evaluation program to insure that projects continue to be of high value in the recipient country's economic progress. In addition, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) mission directors have been instructed to cooperate fully with the U.N. technical assistance representatives in order to promote more effective coordination of bilateral and multilateral assistance projects.

During 1962 the Special Fund took no action on the project for assisting in the expansion of an agricultural research station in Cuba, which had been approved by the Governing Council in May 1961. However, the United States opposed this project at the time and has reiterated its opposition on several subsequent occasions.

### **United Nations Economic and Social Operation in the Congo**

The United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC) was established in 1960 by the Secretary-General in accordance with Security Council resolutions, one of which invited the Specialized Agencies "to render to the Secretary General such assistance as he may require" in the Congo. In 1962 the Specialized Agencies continued to provide the technical services essential to the maintenance of the economy of that country.

In 1962 the equivalent of \$9.1 million was obligated by the United Nations Congo Fund, which finances the UNOC civilian operations. The Fund receives its money from voluntary contributions of several countries; the foreign currency contributions in 1962 amounted to \$5,173,000, thus bringing the total foreign currency contributions to \$26,246,000 at the end of the year. The United States provided \$15 million, or 57 percent of the total. Other major donors included the United Kingdom (11 percent), West Germany (11 percent), Sweden (5 percent), Canada (3.8 percent), and Australia (2.9 percent).

On May 29, 1962, in an address before the United Nations League of Lawyers, Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland stated:

On the nation-building side of its dual personality, the United Nations Operation in the Congo [UNOC] has about 420 civilian technicians and administrators, the bulk of them based in Léopoldville but some stationed in each provincial capital and other main centers of population. In Kindu, for example, there is one UN representative, an Egyptian, and a male secretary; in Bukavu, the capital of Kivu Province, there is a staff of several UN officials, with locally-hired clerks, headed by a dynamic Argentine. This group provides administrative support for a wide variety of special activities (such as refugee operations, public works, mining research, housing aid, and the like) which are carried on by technical specialists commuting for Léopoldville and local administrators at the project sites.

If the sample we observed in Kivu Province is any indication, the UN civilian field operation is both effective and enthusiastic. It serves as the link between the UN peacekeeping forces and the local government, props us and helps the inexperienced local authorities.

The economic problem which the United Nations and its contributing members face in the Congo is an enormous one. So far only stop-gap measures have been taken by the Government and the UN—or have indeed been possible. These measures have prevented a complete breakdown in the economy, and have helped to revive a minimum of activity in public health and sanitation, secondary and vocational education, government administration, transportation and work relief.

As of December 31, 1962, the Fund was financing over 1,100 experts in the fields of agriculture, communications, health, education, economics, law, labor, mines, public administration, public works, and social affairs, provided by the Specialized Agencies (FAO, UNESCO, WHO, ILO, ICAO, ITU, and UPU) and the United Nations.

The Technical Assistance Committee (TAC) of the ECOSOC in November 1962 approved a technical assistance program for the Congo amounting to \$1 million for 1963–64 under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA). This was a significant step toward the eventual normalization of the U.N. technical assistance activities in the Congo.



## *Coordination and Operations*

### **Committee of Ten**

In 1962 the *ad hoc* Committee of Eight established by the 32d session of the Economic and Social Council in July 1961 was expanded to 10 members. This Committee had been set up originally to prepare a study on further steps needed to organize the technical cooperation agencies of the U.N. system to enable them to make more effective contributions to the formulation of country development programs, and to bring about closer coordination between the technical cooperation and preinvestment types of U.N. assistance. The Committee was also to explore ways and means of bringing about a closer relationship among the U.N. system of agencies in the developing countries. Special attention was given to the role of the U.N. Resident Representatives in these areas, in order to provide on request more concerted advice on the technical preparation and implementation of country programs, and on the components thereof. The United States had been a prime mover in the establishment of this Committee, and indicated at the time it was established that one of the questions it should consider was the merger of the U.N. Special Fund (see page 197) and the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA—see page 195).

In addition to the United States, the Committee of Eight was composed of: Brazil, Ethiopia, France, Japan, U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, and the United Kingdom. It met in the early part of 1962 and presented its report to the 34th session of the ECOSOC in July. The Committee found that, although it could agree on certain general recommendations with respect to improving coordination at headquarters, at the regional level and in the field, it did not have time to complete its mandate.

The ECOSOC endorsed the Committee's recommendation that additional studies and reports, including one on the possible advantages and disadvantages of a partial or complete merger in due course of EPTA and the Special Fund, be prepared.

Recognizing the complexities with which the Committee must deal and the interests of both the members of the ECOSOC and the Technical Assistance Committee (TAC), the ECOSOC, on the recommendation of TAC, unanimously approved the expansion of the Committee to include two additional members (Jordan and Indonesia), and the extension of the mandate to enable it to submit its final report to the 38th session of the ECOSOC in 1964. A progress report, however, will be submitted in 1963. In the meantime, the original report of the

Committee of Eight has been submitted to the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) for its comment and for implementation of those recommendations which fall within the latter's purview.

The work of the Committee of necessity must be slow and deliberate if the desired results are to be effected. Its objectives are to enable the technical cooperation programs of the U.N. system to make a more effective impact on the economic and social development of the developing countries by assuring efficiency in the use of the limited resources available, with as much of the money as possible utilized for the implementation of programs rather than administrative overhead costs.

### **Resident Representatives**

One of the problems with which the then Committee of Eight was most concerned was the question of the relationship between the Resident Representatives and the Specialized Agencies in those countries where the former were situated. The TAC and the ECOSOC had taken steps in the past to strengthen the role of the Resident Representatives. It was recognized, however, that a fully satisfactory situation had not yet been achieved. At the request of the ECOSOC, the ACC drew up and agreed to certain principles which were to guide the agencies and the Resident Representatives in their working relationships. The ECOSOC also stressed the importance of cooperation between the Resident Representatives and the Executive Secretaries of the regional economic commissions, and reaffirmed its desire that the staffs of the latter should be strengthened in order to insure that the advice and assistance of the regional secretariats could be readily made available at the request of governments receiving U.N. technical assistance.

The importance of the role of the Resident Representative cannot be overstressed. He must maintain close working relationships with the government to which he is accredited, and he must also maintain similarly close working relationships with the participating U.N. organizations. Since the maintenance of these relationships is vital to the success of the assistance programs, the then Committee of Eight, as well as the TAC and the ECOSOC, felt it to be a matter of great importance that the quality of Resident Representatives be high, and that they be accorded adequate substantive and administrative support to enable them to operate effectively.

### **Evaluation**

For some time the TAC and the ECOSOC have been concerned with the problem of evaluation of the effectiveness of the technical assistance cooperation programs of the United Nations. No system-

atic evaluation either by country or by sector, or even by project, had ever been undertaken. In the TAC meeting the Representative of Jordan, therefore, suggested that steps be taken to insure that a system of evaluation be established and the Executive Secretary of the Technical Assistance Board (TAB) was requested to prepare a study of possible methods.

The United States heartily endorsed this move, and decided, together with Jordan, that the project should be expanded. The ECOSOC unanimously adopted the resolution, taking note of the action of the TAC, but recognizing that the arrangements for evaluation of the impact and effectiveness of the programs were inadequate. To remedy this the U.N. Secretary-General and the heads of the Specialized Agencies and of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) were requested to give particular attention to the matter, and the ACC was specifically requested to present to the Council at its 36th session proposals for carrying out, on a continuing basis, comprehensive evaluations of the programs of the U.N. system of organizations in terms of performance and results achieved.

### Coordination Activities

As a result of a review of the reports of the Specialized Agencies, the various functional Commissions of the ECOSOC, and particularly its Ad Hoc Working Group on Co-ordination, the Council adopted a number of recommendations which are directed toward a concentration of activities. These actions and the studies envisaged were specifically commended by the Administrative Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) and by the General Assembly's Administration and Budgetary (Fifth) Committee.

Specifically, the Council has requested that the Secretary-General submit to its 36th session a review of the studies and reports (concerning economic, social, and human rights) which are included in the work program of the United Nations, including recommendations which might be eliminated, postponed, or consolidated in the interest of concentration of effort and efficient use of limited resources. The subsidiary bodies of the ECOSOC were requested furthermore, in considering requests for new studies, to bear in mind the continuing necessity that these must be concentrated in the areas of work in which the needs and opportunities for international action are greatest. All member governments were called upon to cooperate in this matter with the Secretary-General, the subsidiary bodies of the ECOSOC, and the ECOSOC itself. A plea was also directed to the Specialized Agencies to continue to review their programs and activities with a



view to concentrating on those of a high priority and to eliminating "fringe projects" of limited value and effectiveness.

Another step toward concentration of effort was an attempt to limit the increasing number of international conferences and meetings, in view of the heavy burden these activities impose on member states and secretariats. The members of the ACC were requested not only to take immediate steps toward the coordination of their conference schedules, but the ACC itself was requested to suggest means whereby its schedule of conferences and meetings might in the future be simplified and systematically coordinated on a continuing basis.

Finally, the ECOSOC for sometime has been concerned with the problem of coordination of survey missions and has been aware of duplications and overlap. The Specialized Agencies and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) were therefore urged to seek the cooperation and participation of other interested agencies in any survey mission which might be contemplated or organized, and to utilize to the fullest extent possible the services of the Resident Representatives. Particular attention was called to the important and positive role which these representatives can play in planning for and assisting these missions. With a view to providing a central source of information in each country, the Specialized Agencies have been requested to transmit to the Resident Representatives, as well as to other aid-giving organizations, copies of reports of all future survey missions. In addition, these same organizations have been requested to supply copies of available reports of relevant previous survey missions to the Resident Representatives. In this way it is hoped to build up, in the hands of the Resident Representative, as much information as is available on a specific country.

### *Established International Lending Agencies*

In terms of contributions to development, that of the four international lending institutions, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD—also referred to as the "World Bank"), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) continued to play the predominant role. Each has its own designated and complementary role in promoting economic development and financial stability of member countries. The IBRD, founded in 1946, makes loans to governments, governmental agencies, and private enterprises mainly to help member countries build the infrastructure foundations for economic growth. The IDA, an affiliate of the IBRD, was founded in 1960 for the express purpose of

providing loans to less developed countries on liberal terms that bear less heavily on their balance of payments than conventional loans. The IFC, also an IBRD affiliate, was created in 1956 for the purpose of furthering economic development by encouraging investment in private enterprises. The IMF is primarily concerned with providing advice and leadership or payments support to member countries as a means of maintaining monetary stability.

### International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

The membership of the IBRD increased from 74 to 81 during 1962—primarily through the addition of new African countries. George D. Woods, a New York investment banker, was named President of the IBRD and its affiliates, IDA and IFC, upon the retirement of Eugene R. Black at the end of 1962. Mr. Black had served as President of the Bank for 13 years.

In addition to making 22 loans to member governments for a total of \$646 million, the IBRD in 1962 intensified its important activities in the technical assistance field. This endeavor has now been constituted as a special branch of the Bank, administered under special staff arrangements and with its own allocation of funds. During 1962 the IBRD participated in financing and directing 11 technical studies, and acted as executing agency for the U.N. Special Fund in four additional studies (see page 198). These range from feasibility studies for specific projects to surveys of an entire economy.

The IBRD's Development Advisory Service, created in 1961 for the purpose of advising governments in the preparation and execution of development programs, went into operation in 1962. Resident advisers have been assigned to Chile, Colombia, Ghana, Pakistan, and Thailand; other assignments are imminent. Interest in this activity is evidenced by the large number of requests for such assistance from less developed member countries.

The Economic Development Institute, which is open to officials of less developed countries, completed its seventh regular course, and for the first time held a special session in French for French-speaking representatives of certain newly independent African countries. Selected institutions in underdeveloped countries have received the Institute's specially assembled economic development library and a French language library is now in preparation.

The World Bank has broken new ground in its assistance to education. It is now collaborating with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO—see page 278) on a project for an Institute for Educational Planning which would pro-

mote education and research in educational planning within the framework of economic and social development. And the retiring IBRD President, Eugene R. Black, announced at the 1962 annual meeting that the Bank is planning to make grants "to assist, in member countries, economic, technical or vocational education of a sort closely related to the objectives of the lending activities of the Bank and IDA." He noted that such grants might total as much as \$10 million annually.

The World Bank has continued to exercise leadership in the three consortia for India, Pakistan, and the Indus Basin Program. These consortia have pledged \$2,365 million for the first 2 years of India's Third Five-Year Plan (i.e., the period April 1, 1961–March 31, 1963), \$945 million for the second 2 years of Pakistan's Second Five-Year Plan (July 1, 1961–June 30, 1963) and \$632 million in foreign exchange and \$263 million in local currency for the Indus Basin Program. The U.S. share of these pledges is 41 percent in the case of India, and 53 percent in the case of Pakistan.

During 1962 the Bank also took the lead in organizing consultative groups for Nigeria and Tunisia and in proposing a similar group for Colombia. The consultative groups are less formal and more flexible than the consortia. They are directed less toward commitment of funds and more toward consultation regarding the development plans of particular countries and their requirements for external assistance.

Some progress has been recorded on the proposal mentioned in last year's report for conciliation and arbitration machinery under the auspices of the Bank to assist in settling financial disputes between governments and private investors. A working paper was circulated to IBRD members, and at the 1962 annual meeting, the Executive Directors were charged with drafting an agreement for submission to governments if they conclude that this would be advisable.

In another endeavor relating to the role of private foreign investment in less developed economies, the Bank made public a study of various proposals for multilateral insurance of international investment. The study, undertaken at the behest of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, seeks to highlight issues and problems, rather than to reach conclusions. It has been placed before the Development Assistance Committee and member governments for consideration.

The Bank engaged in five new borrowing transactions in 1962, which increased its net indebtedness by \$144.3 million. Only one of the new borrowings took place in the U.S. market. The market for these bond issues was so favorable that the Bank was able to reduce the interest rate on development loans by  $\frac{1}{4}$  percent to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  percent.

During 1962, the IBRD marketed with its guarantee a total of \$307



million of its borrowers' obligations. Disbursements for the year totaled \$576 million, an increase of \$117 million over 1961. Net income, including commissions for the year, totaled about \$104 million, and cumulative repayments reached \$1,196 million, including \$604 million repaid to the Bank and \$592 million repaid to purchasers of items from the loan portfolio.

### **International Development Association (IDA)**

As the IBRD affiliate designed to supply development capital to countries whose balance-of-payments outlook indicated the need for resources on other than conventional terms, the International Development Association (IDA) had an active year. The \$186,650,000 loaned in 1962 represented a slight increase over the record of 1961, the IDA's initial year of operation. The already heavy demands upon the IDA are almost certain to increase as few of the new African countries, which have or will soon become members, will be able to borrow on the IBRD-type terms. Furthermore, a number of other member countries have now such a debt burden on relatively hard terms that they can ill-afford more. With U.S. support, the IDA Board of Governors at its 1962 annual meeting requested the Executive Directors to develop recommendations for augmenting resources. Such recommendations were being prepared at the end of 1962, but will not become binding on members until their domestic legal requirements have been met, which in the case of the United States, includes advance legislative approval.

Other developments during the year included the first supplementary contribution to the IDA's resources by a member country. Sweden contributed the equivalent of \$5.8 million in freely convertible form, neither tied to Swedish procurement nor restricted as to country or project. In coordination with the IBRD's new emphasis upon education, the IDA credit given in this area was made in 1962 to Tunisia for school construction in the amount of \$5 million.

The IDA membership increased by 15 countries during the year, to a total of 71 countries with aggregate subscriptions of \$952 million. Against the \$367,450,000 of commitments at year's end, \$24,676,000 had been disbursed.

### **International Finance Corporation (IFC)**

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) continued making and facilitating investments in productive private enterprise in less developed countries, bringing its cumulative total of net investment commitments to \$72.4 million. The corporation enjoyed one of its

most active years thus far with \$15 million in investment, and \$8 million in underwriting commitments.

Three 1962 transactions serve to illustrate the major functions which the IFC performs in the private enterprise field:

#### FINANCING HIGH PRIORITY INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS

An investment of \$3 million was made in an automotive electrical equipment plant in Spain, involving a \$2.5 million loan and the purchase of 30 million pesetas (approximately \$500,000) of equity shares. The latter was IFC's initial use of its newly acquired authority to purchase capital shares, a feature which adds flexibility to its operations. A U.S. and a German financial institution are participating with the IFC in this project.

#### DEVELOPING CAPITAL MARKETS

The IFC recorded another "first" during 1962 when it formed a syndicate with a Mexican investment institution to underwrite a stock issue by the largest private steel company in Mexico. One Swiss and two U.S. investment houses joined the IFC as participants. The offering was so successful, because of its strong underwriting, that the IFC had to take up only about \$800,000 of its initial commitment of \$3 million.

#### PROMOTING THE INTERNATIONAL FLOW OF PRIVATE CAPITAL

In November 1962 the IFC announced the financing arrangements for a fertilizer plant in Tunisia in which it will hold both capital shares and debt obligations. Associated with the IFC are a Swedish and an American sulphur producer; and financial institutions in Canada, Sweden, and the United States are participating in the IFC's part of the investment. Moreover, each shareholder has agreed to reserve one-tenth of its stock for sale to Tunisian private investors.

In their first joint financing venture, the IBRD is providing loan funds and the IFC is subscribing share capital to a Moroccan development bank. Additional operations of this type are envisaged in line with the Bank's view that intermediate credit institutions have a significant role to play in the establishment and growth of industries in less developed countries; development banking has recently been accorded the status of a special department within the IFC. The IFC has also engaged in joint financing operations with the Inter-American Development Bank.

The IFC membership increased during 1962 from 60 to 72.

### International Monetary Fund (IMF)

An important expansion of the resources available to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) occurred during 1962 when the final steps were taken to put the Fund's special borrowing arrangement into effect. In January 1962 the Executive Directors of the Fund adopted a decision which provided for the borrowing of a total of \$6 billion by the Fund from 10 major industrialized countries in the event the Fund should require additional resources to forestall or cope with an impairment of the international monetary system. The arrangement became effective with the accession of the United States following enactment of U.S. legislation authorizing the United States to lend up to \$2 billion to the Fund under the terms of the arrangement and appropriating any funds up to that amount which may be necessary. The standby credits provide a new defense for the stability of major world currencies and a reinforcement of the entire international monetary system. In particular, they strengthen the position of the dollar as the world's major reserve currency and greatly reduce the possibility of a serious drain on dollar balances.

The usefulness of the Fund's existing resources continued to expand as convertible currencies other than the U.S. dollar were included in Fund drawings on an increased scale. In 1962 only 19 percent of the drawings were made in U.S. dollars, down from 53 percent in 1960. Total drawings in 1962 amounted to \$584 million and were made by 18 countries. Repayments, at \$1,332 million, were substantially higher than any previous year's total, primarily as the result of the substantial amount repaid by the United Kingdom on its large drawing of \$1.5 billion in 1961. The largest drawing in 1962, \$300 million, was made by Canada. The remaining 17 drawings were made by less developed countries, among them nine Latin American Republics. Since the establishment of the IMF, the Latin American Republics have drawn almost \$1.3 billion; they had an additional \$140 million available at the end of 1962 under standby arrangements.

During 1962 seven countries became members of the IMF bringing the total to 82 with aggregate quotas of \$15 billion. Twenty applications for membership are pending, of which 11 have been approved by the Board of Governors and 9 are under consideration by the Executive Board. Of the pending applications 18 are from African nations; of the seven members who joined in 1962, all but one were African.

The Fund carried on its annual consultations with member countries which still impose exchange restrictions on current payments. Consultations with members whose currencies are formally convertible



within the meaning of the Fund Agreement were also held in 1962, including the first with the United States. The Fund also continued to provide, on request of member countries, impartial, expert advice and valuable technical assistance in the monetary and fiscal fields.

### *Other Aspects of Assistance*

The need of the less developed countries for substantial amounts of capital to enable them to achieve a more rapid rate of economic growth has long been obvious. While the developing countries themselves must bear the major burden in filling the need, it is clear in most instances that supplementary external capital assistance is necessary if the development efforts are to be successful. As a means of providing these external capital requirements, the established lending agencies have devoted increasing attention to the needs of the less developed countries. Also, during recent years there has been considerable interest in establishing a U.N. Capital Development Fund. The United States, however, does not believe that there is a real need for the latter. It considers rather that fuller and more effective use should be made of existing institutions and that efforts should be made to encourage external private capital to assume a greater role in the development effort.

### **International Flow of Private Capital**

In U.N. discussions during 1962 on the financing of economic development, the United States continued to place emphasis on the role of private capital and the possibilities open to the less developed countries for attracting an increasing volume of foreign private investment.

Since the war, such investment has been mainly direct, as distinct from portfolio. Investment in this form carries with it managerial and technical skills, helps train local personnel to whom it affords employment opportunities, adds to local tax revenues, and generally stimulates other local economic activity. When these contributions are taken into account, the United States pointed out, the bare statistics of the flow of foreign private investment provide an inadequate measure of its role in promoting economic development.

The 34th ECOSOC (July 1962) had before it the third in a series of reports, prepared by the Secretary-General, on the promotion of the international flow of private capital. These reports embody useful information on such matters as the fields of activity and types of projects which foreign investors and the less developed countries

may both be interested in promoting with the aid of private capital, and indicate measures, in operation and contemplated, for stimulating the capital flow. A type of investment discussed in these reports, which many Council members deemed particularly worthy of encouragement, is the joint venture, in which foreign capital enters into association with local interests in the country of investment. The Council adopted a resolution to insure that this series of reports would be continued, though not necessarily on an annual basis, without requiring a new resolution to authorize each additional report.

In another series of reports, the Secretary-General, in compliance with various resolutions, presented information showing, mainly, trends in the volume and direction of the flow of capital—public as well as private—into the less developed areas. The need clearly existed for placing this quantitative type of reporting on a more systematic basis, which would avoid the proliferation of fragmentary reports of little value, and facilitate continuing comparison of trends in the various components of the total capital movement. To meet this need the Secretary-General will in the future prepare only a single report each year covering the flow of both public and private capital. At 3-year intervals the report will embody more detailed information on the flow of public capital and private capital, respectively.

During recent years the United Nations has also undertaken various studies on capital requirements, though the authors of such studies have pointed out the difficulties involved in making accurate estimates.

### United Nations Capital Development Fund

A Committee composed of representatives from 25 governments (referred to as the Committee of 25) was set up under a 15th General Assembly resolution of December 1960. The Committee was to "consider all concrete preparatory measures" for the establishment of a U.N. Capital Development Fund, "including draft legislation necessary to that end." Although the United States voted against the General Assembly resolution, which included among its provisions a decision "in principle" that a U.N. Capital Development Fund should be established, we accepted membership on the Committee of 25 in order to share our experience in the development field with other members and to "encourage evaluation of the whole range of alternatives by which the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies might contribute more effectively to the process of economic development."

By a resolution of December 1961 the 16th General Assembly extended the mandate of the Committee of 25 which met in May 1962. The Committee considered foreign capital needs and a draft statute

for a U.N. Capital Development Fund. With regard to foreign capital needs, the U.S. Representative, Philip M. Klutznick, stated that considerable caution must be observed in evaluating estimates of such needs. He added that the amount of foreign capital that a developing country could obtain and effectively use depended on a variety of factors, including the characteristics and potentialities of its human and physical resources and its economic, financial, and administrative practices and policies. In view of considerations such as these, the U.S. Representative emphasized, the most useful approach was "... to concentrate on doing those things which will make capital flow more effectively and, in this way, bring about greater production and benefits for the people in developing countries. Excessive concentration on the target, if it causes us to lose sight of the essential steps that must be taken to get there, will be harmful rather than helpful to our common efforts in the Development Decade."

In accordance with the December General Assembly resolution instruction to draft a statute for a U.N. Capital Development Fund in conformity with the general principles it had previously formulated, the Committee of 25 requested the Secretary-General to prepare a preliminary draft and met in May 1962 to consider the text in detail. The United States thereupon announced to the Committee that, while it would remain a member, it would not participate in the discussion or drafting of a statute for the contemplated fund. The U.S. Representative in setting forth this position pointed out that with the establishment of the International Development Agency (IDA), an agency within the U.N. family, a substantial new provision had been made for assisting developing countries on very lenient credit terms. With this new agency and the Inter-American Development Bank, both of which had come into operation since the Committee's appointment, there now existed a sufficiency of multilateral financing agencies. The need, he said, was to strengthen and to make the best use of these, not to create an additional U.N. instrument for development financing. If a U.N. Capital Development Fund were in fact established, the United States would not be prepared to contribute to or be a part of it. Under these circumstances, the United States could not participate in the drafting of a statute intended to establish such a fund.

A similar position, involving continued presence at the Committee's meetings but without participation in the statute drafting exercise, was adopted by Canada, Denmark, France, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. All of these countries also made explanatory statements to the effect that they deemed it unwise to draft statutes for a new U.N. financing institution for which they saw



no present need and which, if established, would have little prospect of obtaining any substantial financial support.

The Committee completed its work in June and, in accordance with the General Assembly resolution of December 1961, submitted the completed draft statute to the 34th session of the ECOSOC, which in turn was required by that resolution to transmit it, with its comments, to the 17th General Assembly. This transmittal was formalized through an ECOSOC resolution, sponsored by a group of the less developed countries. In addition the resolution urged economically advanced countries to reconsider possibilities of moving forward with the establishment and operation of a U.N. Capital Development Fund. The United States, together with some other industrialized member countries, took virtually no part in discussion of the draft resolution. The "urging" clause, on which a separate ballot was requested, was approved by the Council by a vote of 11 to 4 (France, Japan, the U.K., and the U.S.), with 2 (Australia, Italy) abstentions. The countries voting "no" on the separate clause abstained on the resolution as a whole. With Australia and Italy also abstaining, the final vote on the resolution was 11 to 0, with 6 abstentions.

By a vote of 85 to 0, with 12 (U.S.) abstentions, the 17th General Assembly adopted a resolution designed to keep the fund issue alive. This resolution requested the Secretary-General to transmit the draft statute to governments and the Specialized Agencies for their comments, and extended the mandate of the Committee. The Committee was instructed to study the replies of governments, "to propose practical measures designed to ensure the beginning of the operation of the Fund," and to report to the 36th session of the ECOSOC.

At the 17th General Assembly, discussion of this item took only about 3 hours. Despite the heavy vote for the U.N. Capital Development Fund, the debate revealed little evidence of strong pressure for its establishment and little faith that it could be achieved in the foreseeable future. This situation was in marked contrast with proceedings 4 or 5 years earlier, when the proposal for this type of fund took up most of the Second Committee's time during a 3-month session of the General Assembly.

## ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

It has long been apparent that U.N. financial assistance, although of fundamental importance, is not alone sufficient to promote higher rates of growth. There is a critical lack of technical, managerial, and entrepreneurial skills in most of the less developed countries, and

the United Nations has been endeavoring to supply these needs for a short time, and to undertake programs that, over the long run, will develop such skills among the indigenous populations. In this way the concepts of cooperation and self-help have long characterized a major part of the U.N. activities in these countries.

In addition to its cooperative efforts in individual countries, the United Nations has also approached the development problem from other viewpoints. It has, for example, concerned itself on a global basis with questions related to the development of natural resources. Increasing interest in industrialization on the part of less developed countries has led the United Nations to give greater emphasis to that aspect of development. It has also intensified its activities in the fields of economic planning and programing. More recently, with a view to encouraging self-sustaining economies, special emphasis is being given to the role of international trade in the development process.

### *International Trade*

#### **United Nations Conference on Trade and Development**

The concern of the developing countries over their trade prospects and the importance of expanding trade to further their economic growth gave rise to the adoption by the 16th General Assembly of a resolution requesting the Secretary-General to consult member governments concerning the advisability of holding an international conference on international trade problems relating especially to primary commodity markets. While the U.S. reply advised against holding such a conference, the majority of replies, principally from the developing countries, favored it. This support was reiterated in the declaration of the Conference on Problems of Economic Development which was held in Cairo in July and attended by officials from 31 developing countries.

Early in the 34th session of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), July 1962, Brazil, Ethiopia, India, Senegal, and Yugoslavia introduced a resolution calling for a world economic conference in 1963. Informal discussions in which the United States played a leading role succeeded in producing a revised resolution calling for a U.N. Conference on Trade and Development and setting a pattern for the conference which the United States believed offered a sound basis for constructive achievements. This resolution, which was adopted unanimously, focused the work of the Conference clearly on the trade problems of the developing countries, established a preparatory com-

mittee composed of 18 members representing the governments on the Council, and provided that this Committee should be assisted not only by the U.N. Secretariat but by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the appropriate Specialized Agencies. The Preparatory Committee was asked to report to the 36th session of the ECOSOC in the summer of 1963; no date was set for the Conference itself.

In supporting the resolution, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Klutznick, observed that the United States had doubted the wisdom of a conference on trade and development because of its concern that the preparation and holding of such a conference would interfere with the constructive efforts being undertaken in a number of places to deal precisely with the problems of the trade of the developing countries. He noted, however, that the United States had been impressed by the constructive attitude adopted by the sponsors of the draft resolution which, as revised, presented a wise and careful approach to the convening of a conference. He noted further that his delegation supported the resolution with a fair degree of optimism, because of the manner in which the draft resolution set forth the character of the conference and laid down arrangements for its preparation by the competent bodies.

The 34th session of the ECOSOC also adopted a second resolution dealing with the commodity and trade problems of the developing countries. This resolution, introduced by the United States, Japan, and Uruguay, requested the Secretary-General to appoint a small group of highly qualified experts to review the activities of the international organizations with respect to trade problems of the developing countries, and to suggest improvements. The report is to be transmitted to the Preparatory Committee for the U.N. Trade Conference as well as to members of the United Nations and of the Specialized Agencies, and to other interested international organizations. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 16 to 0, with 1 (U.S.S.R.) abstention. The Secretary-General appointed Robert Asher, a senior staff member of the Brookings Institution, as the American expert on the group.

The question of an international trade conference was included in the agenda for the 17th General Assembly and was discussed in its Economic and Financial (Second) Committee, where two resolutions on this general subject were introduced. The first, sponsored by the U.S.S.R., called for an International Conference on Trade Problems in 1963 ". . . to consider the following basic problems: the establishment of an International Trade Organization; the elimination of discrimination in matters of foreign trade; fair prices for raw mate-



rials and manufactured goods . . .” and to be open to all states which desire to participate. There was so little interest in this resolution that the U.S.S.R. itself did not press for a vote on it.

The second resolution, sponsored initially by 18 nations (Algeria, Argentina, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sudan, Tanganyika, Thailand, U.A.R., Venezuela, and Yugoslavia), formed the basis for the resolution ultimately adopted by the General Assembly. During the course of debate, the list of sponsors expanded to 35 with the addition of Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, Congo (Léopoldville), Ethiopia, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Malaya, Panama, Senegal, Syria, Tunisia, and Uruguay. Although the United States felt that the 18-member Preparatory Committee called for in the ECOSOC resolution could work more effectively than a larger committee, it was willing to accept the suggestion in the draft resolution for an expansion of the Committee to 30. The draft resolution was then generally acceptable to the United States with two major exceptions: (1) a Burmese sub-amendment accepted by the sponsors which attempted to prejudice the work of the Preparatory Committee and of the Conference by directing attention to “. . . the advisability of establishing a United Nations agency for international trade . . .”; and (2) the fact that the resolution set June 1963 as the date for the Conference. One of the two major issues was resolved in the Second Committee: the phrase referring to the establishment of a new agency was omitted from a revised version of the resolution submitted by the sponsors. A move by Bulgaria and the Byelorussian S.S.R. to open attendance at the Conference to the unrecognized Communist regimes was also defeated. (A subsequent attempt to accomplish this objective in plenary was also thwarted.)

On the question of the date, however, the revised draft resolution was still unacceptable to the United States. The new language called for a conference not later than September 1963. A Danish amendment which would have eliminated the reference to a specific date and simply referred to “. . . the view expressed by many delegations that the Conference should be convened not later than September 1963 as well as the view of other U.N. members that the Conference would be more productive if held in early 1964” was defeated by a vote of 50 to 43, with 10 abstentions. The draft resolution was then passed by the Second Committee by a vote of 73 to 10 (Belgium, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Rwanda, South Africa, Spain, the U.K., and the U.S.), with 23 abstentions. The U.S. vote was based on the firm conviction that the steps necessary for a productive conference could not be completed before the spring of 1964. These steps include

both constructive work in existing forums which deal with trade problems of the developing countries, and the procedural work in organizing for the conference itself. This conviction was voiced repeatedly in public and privately to various delegations during the Committee debate on the resolution. On November 17 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Klutznick, stated "We are convinced that any useful conference on which ECOSOC decides in July '63 cannot be held before early or mid-'64. . . . Believing as we do, we cannot in good conscience vote for a text which stipulates that the conference is to be convened 'not later than September '63.'"

When the draft resolution was considered in the General Assembly on December 8, an amendment was introduced by Canada and Peru which set the date for the conference ". . . as soon as possible after the thirty-sixth session of the Council [ECOSOC] to be held in July 1963, but in no event later than early 1964." This amendment, which met the objection of the United States, was passed by a vote of 72 to 0, with 11 abstentions. The amended resolution was adopted by a vote of 91 to 0, with 1 (Cameroon) abstention. Following this vote the U.S. Representative stated:

It was with deep gratification that the United States voted in favor of the draft resolution on the holding of a United Nations conference on trade and development. . . . Weeks of negotiation in Geneva, in which the United States delegation was privileged to play a role of consequence, followed by weeks of discussion here, have now laid the groundwork for what could be one of the important contributions to international cooperation by the United Nations. It should be of particular importance to the developing countries and to other countries which are substantially dependent on the export of primary commodities . . . . We hope that it will now be possible for all countries at all levels of development to devote their best efforts, in a spirit of cooperation, to making this conference succeed.

In December the resumed session of the 35th ECOSOC elected the 12 additional members of the Preparatory Committee. These include the three new members of the ECOSOC: Argentina, Austria, and Czechoslovakia; and Canada, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic. The 18 members of ECOSOC who were the original members of the Preparatory Committee are Australia, Brazil, Colombia, Denmark, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Japan, Jordan, India, Italy, Poland, Senegal, the United Kingdom, the United States, U.S.S.R., Uruguay, and Yugoslavia. The first meeting of the Preparatory Committee has been called for January 22, 1963. Isaiah Frank, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, will be the U.S. Representative on the Preparatory Committee.

### The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), negotiated in 1947 under the aegis of the United Nations, is a multilateral trade agreement containing schedules of tariff concessions and general provisions designed to foster the expansion of trade on a multilateral, nondiscriminatory basis. GATT is not an organ of the United Nations, but its work is coordinated with that of the United Nations through the efforts of member governments and the secretariats concerned.

During 1962 the number of full Contracting Parties to the GATT rose from 40 to 44 with the accession of Israel and Portugal and of two newly independent states: Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda. In addition, the Contracting Parties approved the provisional accession to the GATT of Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic, and extended for 2 more years a decision granting provisional accession to Argentina. The Contracting Parties also agreed to continue for another year special arrangements to afford a number of newly independent states a further opportunity to examine their future commercial policies and decide whether they should seek accession to the GATT in their own right. In a move recognizing the importance to all less developed countries of access to expanding markets, the United States introduced a proposal that the GATT Council of Representatives examine and make recommendations to the Contracting Parties on the possible ways by which less developed countries not now parties to GATT could contribute to, and participate in, aspects of GATT activity of particular interest to them. The Contracting Parties approved the U.S. proposal, and it is expected that the Council will begin its consideration early in 1963.

#### PROGRAM FOR THE EXPANSION OF TRADE

During 1962, as during the several preceding years, the Contracting Parties devoted a considerable share of their attention to work on the Program for the Expansion of International Trade, of which the key elements are tariff reduction, improved access to markets for agricultural products, and the removal of obstacles to the trade of less developed countries.

In order to lay the groundwork for tariff negotiations, in which the United States would make use of the significant authority contained in its new Trade Expansion Act, the Contracting Parties agreed to hold a Ministerial Meeting early in 1963 to determine the methods to be followed and fix the time of the next tariff-reducing round of negotiations.



The GATT Committee II, which is concerned with improving access to markets for agricultural products, proved to be a useful forum in which to examine the common agricultural policy of the European Economic Community (EEC). The United States participated actively in the comprehensive examination of this policy conducted in meetings held from October 8 to November 8, 1962, immediately preceding the 20th session of the Contracting Parties. A full report of the examination was made public and received wide publicity. The report revealed the concern of exporting nations over the EEC's common agricultural policy, contained the assurances of the EEC that its intent was not to be trade restrictive, and summarized the technical commodity discussions of each group.

Further progress in the broad area of agricultural protectionism throughout the world is expected to be achieved through the work of groups established to deal with specific commodities, notably cereals, through such initiatives as may eventuate from the Ministerial Meeting in 1963 and through the results of the anticipated tariff liberalization conference in 1964.

Meeting at intervals throughout 1962, the GATT Committee III, which is concerned with expansion of the export earnings of less developed countries, took stock of the progress that had been made in the reduction of the tariff and nontariff barriers impeding such expansion. The Committee considered proposals by a group of these countries within GATT for more rapid and concrete action to this end. It was agreed to give further attention to other possibilities for enhancing the Committee's usefulness in helping the less developed countries enlarge their export earning capacity. These included putting greater stress on consultations by the Contracting Parties with industrial countries that maintain restrictions harmful to the trade of developing countries, and consultations with developing countries designed to clarify the relationship between their trade prospects and the financing of their economic development.

The Committee meetings revealed that the less developed countries were far from satisfied with progress made to date toward the objectives of the Declaration on the Promotion of the Trade of the Less Developed Countries adopted in 1961 and desired an intensified effort to remove the trade barriers which encumbered their export trade. They did, however, welcome the U.S. Trade Expansion Act as a promising means of achieving some of their trade objectives.

#### ACTION IN GATT ON TRADE RESTRICTIONS

During the 20th session of the GATT held during October and November 1962, the United States pressed the matter of restrictions

imposed by France against imports of fruit and other products from the United States. The Contracting Parties ruled that the French restrictions were in violation of France's GATT obligations, and that the United States was entitled to make equivalent withdrawals of trade benefits granted to France if the situation was not corrected. The Contracting Parties advised the United States not to make any compensatory withdrawals for a "reasonable period" in the hope that bilateral consultations between the United States and France would lead to a satisfactory conclusion. Also at the 20th session, Italy announced an import liberalization which effectively removed almost all the discrimination which previously had existed there against U.S. products.

Germany and Belgium both maintain various import restrictions against certain U.S. products which in the past have been sanctioned by waivers obtained in the GATT. These waivers have expired, and we informed both of these countries that we expect the import restrictions to be eliminated.

#### LONG-TERM COTTON TEXTILE ARRANGEMENT

Early in 1962, 19 nations, representing the principal cotton textile importing and exporting nations of the free world, participated under the aegis of the GATT in drafting a Long-Term Cotton Textile Arrangement. This Arrangement, which entered into force on October 1, 1962, for a period of 5 years, assures growing export opportunities in cotton textiles while avoiding disruptive effects in domestic markets that may be caused by excessive imports. Under the terms of the Arrangement importing countries threatened by or subjected to market disruption in any of 64 categories of cotton textiles may restrain imports to the level of fiscal year 1961. The Arrangement, which had been accepted by 23 nations as of the end of 1962, permits an importing nation threatened by or subjected to market disruption on any item or in any category of cotton textiles to freeze imports for 1 year to the level of the first 12 of the preceding 15 months. If the restraint is in effect beyond 12 months, there may be a 5 percent increase in the restraint level, but the importing country can waive all or part of this increase. After the second 12 months of restraint, a 5 percent per annum increase in the restraint level is required thereafter.

#### U.S. POSITION ON TARIFF NEGOTIATIONS

In March 1962 the United States concluded within the GATT framework tariff negotiations with the European Economic Community (EEC), with the United Kingdom, and with 24 other coun-

tries. The commercial importance of these negotiations, which began in September 1960 and which were the largest and most complex in the 28-year history of the Trade Agreements Act, was matched by their political significance, since they represented the first time the member countries of the EEC negotiated as a unit on the level of their common external tariff.

The U.S. objectives in the negotiations with the EEC were to secure reductions in the EEC common external tariff, to insure that the EEC common agricultural policy, still under development, took account of the interests of U.S. agricultural exporters, and to accomplish these in the framework of the long-standing U.S. policy of expanding trading relations among free world nations. These objectives were in large measure attained. Although the United States was not able to match on equal terms the offer made by the EEC for an across-the-board reduction of 20 percent, it did succeed in obtaining the benefit of the EEC's "linear" offer on a substantial part of the common external tariff. However, an important segment of agricultural trade was excepted from the linear offer, since it is subject to the EEC's common agricultural policy, which is still in the early stages of development and which is to involve import regulation by means other than fixed tariffs.

In the exchange of new tariff concessions in the form of reductions or bindings at fixed levels, the United States received concessions on a trade volume of approximately \$1.6 billion in return for adjustments and commitments—these to take effect in most cases in two steps 1 year apart—on U.S. tariffs covering imported commodities with a trade volume of \$1.2 billion in 1960.

### Commodity Trade

There is a wide range of activity within the U.N. framework directed toward the study and improvement of the conditions of world commodity trade. The interest of the United States in this work stems both from its own position as a major exporter and importer of primary commodities and its concern with the trade problems of the developing countries.

One important aspect of this work is the sponsorship, upon request, of international conferences to consider joint action on particular commodities. During 1962 the United Nations convened conferences which negotiated a new International Wheat Agreement and the first worldwide International Coffee Agreement that associates both exporting and importing countries in the effort to stabilize coffee prices. Because of the vital importance of coffee to the trade and economic



welfare of many developing countries, particularly in Latin America, the United States played a leading role in bringing the coffee negotiations to a successful conclusion. During the year, conferences exploring the terms of a possible stabilization agreement for cocoa were also held and there were regularly scheduled meetings of the International Lead and Zinc Study Group established by the United Nations in 1959-60.

The other important aspect of U.N. activities in the commodity field is the work of the Commission on International Commodity Trade (CICT) and the Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) Committee on Commodity Problems (CCP). The first of these organizations, which was established by the ECOSOC, regularly reviews and reports on developments in world commodity trade. It has also embarked on a series of studies of techniques and measures for dealing with the problems of commodity market instability. The CCP has roughly parallel responsibilities in the field of agricultural trade, but with important differences in emphasis.

In 1962 it was arranged to have these two bodies meet consecutively in Rome, so as to permit a joint session in which matters of mutual interest would be discussed. The impetus for this joint session came from the fact that both bodies are sponsoring efforts by their respective secretariats to develop projections of supply and demand for major primary products, with the CICT planning to rely on the FAO projections in the agricultural field. It was deemed useful to have these organizations jointly examine the first comprehensive FAO report on prospective demand, production, and trade for agricultural commodities, which was ready for review in 1962, plus a preliminary report by the U.N. Secretariat on methods of projecting demand for nonagricultural commodities.

The discussions of these reports at the joint session were preliminary in nature but resulted in full endorsement of continuing work in this field, and in recommendations that governments and interested international organizations be invited to study and submit comments upon the reports, so that there can be a fuller and more meaningful evaluation of them by the two organizations at their next meetings. Notwithstanding the wide margin for error in projections of this type, the United States recognizes their potential value in helping countries plan their economic development programs and supports the effort to perfect and revise periodically statistical studies of probable trends in supply, demand, and trade for major primary commodities.

The second major subject discussed at the joint session, and more broadly by the CICT in its own session that followed, was "compensatory financing," or the possibility of offsetting fluctuations in the

export earnings of primary exporting countries through compensatory loans or grants. Since study of this approach to the problem of commodity market instability was initiated by the CICT in 1960, the United States has taken the lead in promoting full consideration of the possibilities.

On the basis of past work within the CICT, and also within the Organization of American States (OAS), several possibilities for adding to, or improving, existing facilities for compensatory financing had been brought to the attention of governments by the time of the Rome meetings. These included: (1) the proposal for a Development Insurance Fund submitted by a U.N. Group of Experts; (2) the proposal for an International Fund for the Stabilization of Export Receipts, drawn up by a group of governmental experts of the OAS; (3) an expansion in the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) activities in the field of compensatory financing; and (4) possible compensatory financing arrangements for individual commodities.

In his opening statement before the CICT session in Rome, the U.S. Representative, Michael W. Blumenthal, said that the United States believed new compensatory facilities would be a useful supplement to other efforts to stabilize export receipts of primary exporting countries and expressed the tentative conclusion that a general, basically automatic and self-financing scheme of the type proposed within the OAS might be desirable and feasible, if developed on a worldwide rather than regional basis.

Few other governments of industrial countries were prepared to be as forthcoming as the United States in recognizing the possible utility of a new compensatory arrangement to offset short-term fluctuations in export earnings, or were as explicit regarding the essential purposes and features of such an arrangement. A number indicated a definite preference for some modest expansion of the role of the International Monetary Fund. The less developed countries tended to favor the Development Insurance Fund scheme, which might involve grants under certain circumstances and would be essentially a new form of aid.

The outcome of the further discussions in the CICT's session was a recommendation that a Technical Working Group be established to examine both (a) the scheme for a Development Insurance Fund and (b) the scheme for an export receipts stabilization fund drawn up by experts of the OAS, and to submit the text of a draft agreement, with necessary variants, in order to facilitate decision by governments on this subject. The Working Group was also asked to consider whether and to what extent a scheme for compensatory financing could be used to offset long-term declines in the export receipts of primary

exporting countries and to offset the deterioration in their terms of trade. Finally it was asked to determine what guidance might be given the Commission for work relating to other measures to remedy the long-term commodity situation.

The Technical Working Group met for an extended period later in the year and prepared a report which analyzes the relative advantages and disadvantages of the two schemes, and sets forth illustrative draft articles of agreement for a U.N. Development Insurance Fund for purposes of comparison with draft articles of agreement for an International Fund for Stabilization of Export Receipts previously drawn up by the OAS experts. The report also briefly considers the problems which would be involved in a compensatory financing scheme for long-term declines in export earnings. The CICT will consider this report together with a report from the IMF to determine how the CICT might play an increased part in the compensatory financing of export fluctuations of primary exporting countries, at its next session in May 1963.

The United States customarily makes a major policy statement on commodity problems at the annual session of the CICT. At the 1962 session the U.S. Representative, Michael W. Blumenthal, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, reiterated the U.S. interest in working for improved conditions of commodity trade, outlined the major steps taken to this end in the past year, and suggested certain fundamental principles that should form the basis for a world commodity policy for the decade of the sixties. Six principles were set forth:

1. Major attention should be given to correcting the long-term structural defects of individual commodity markets, through action affecting both demand and, where needed, supply.

2. There should be better coordination of the work on commodity problems with development planning and economic assistance, with a view to improving the balance of supply and demand in particular commodities and lessening the dependence of developing countries upon primary products.

3. The emphasis should be upon worldwide nondiscriminatory solutions for commodity problems.

4. Room should be left, however, and encouragement given, for such national or regional arrangements as strengthen and support worldwide approaches to particular problems.

5. The work on long-term structural problems should be supplemented by an attack on the problem of short-term instability in commodity trade, e.g., through compensatory financing.



6. Governments should guard against the present tendency towards proliferation of international commodity activities since it is leading to duplication of effort, confusion of purpose, and dissipation of energy.

### **Travel and Tourism**

In compliance with a resolution calling for an international conference in the field of travel and tourism adopted by the ECOSOC in 1961, the Secretary-General in January 1962 convened a meeting of seven experts. They were instructed to prepare recommendations on the nature, scope, location, and agenda for such a U.N. conference. While the United States did not provide one of the seven experts, a U.S. citizen served as a Special Consultant to the Secretary-General and participated in all meetings of the group.

In summary, the major recommendations of the experts were the following:

1. The conference should be a technical conference that would make recommendations to governments.
2. Recommendations on measures for travel facilitation would include a request to governments to report by a certain date and at regular intervals to the Secretary-General on the progress made in implementing such recommendations.
3. The agenda should include such items as the definition of "tourist" or "temporary visitor," facilitation of governmental formalities regarding travel, other government measures, and technical cooperation.
4. The conference should be held in Europe in 1963 and it should last at least 12 working days.

These recommendations were considered at the 33d session of the ECOSOC in New York in April 1962. The Council confirmed its earlier resolution to hold the conference and accepted the invitation of Italy to have the conference in Rome. It will be held from August 21–September 5, 1963.

### *Resource Development*

In pursuit of the objectives of the U.N. Development Decade, the United Nations has been giving increasing attention in recent years to the problems of natural resources, particularly land, water, and petroleum resources. In addition the United Nations considered the

matter of "Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources" which resulted in the adoption of a well-publicized resolution by the 17th General Assembly.

### Land Reform

As a means of attaining an optimum utilization of land—the most important of all economic resources—the United Nations has, over the years, concerned itself with the general problems of land reform. The United States has participated actively in the U.N. and FAO forums on this subject and has continued to set forth its view that land reform, to be successful, must be based on individual ownership and go beyond a mere transfer of title from landlord to tenant, and provide a detailed followup thus enabling the individual farmer to function better as a producer. The U.S. position is that reform requires a comprehensive long-range effort encompassing a spectrum of services: cooperative credit, marketing, access road construction, and basic community facilities. Further, it should provide to the earlier landowner adequate compensation in an orderly manner—usually with government support.

In 1962 the third report on progress in land reform was submitted for consideration of the 34th session of the ECOSOC. This report, which was prepared by the Secretary-General in collaboration with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), and the governments of member countries, defined the term "land reform" broadly and was more analytical than the two preceding reports. Among other things it dealt with the effects of land reform on productivity, rural employment, financing problems, and the relationship of land reform to community development. The United States endorsed this report and supported a request for a further report within the next 5 years.

### Water Resources

Expanded activities by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in the field of water resources are coordinated by the Water Resources Development Center established within the United Nations in 1959. Agencies active in the development of water resources are the United Nations, the regional economic commissions, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

During 1962 the ECOSOC asked the Water Resources Development Center to draw up proposals for a priority program of coordinated action in the water resources field within the framework of the U.N. Development Decade. The proposals are to be prepared in cooperation with the various U.N. agencies concerned, for consideration in the Council at its 1963 spring session.

In accordance with the recommendations of a seminar on international river basin development held in Vancouver, Canada, the United Nations will intensify engineering, economic, and social studies of selected international river systems during the U.N. Development Decade, which will facilitate future multilateral efforts to develop international river basins.

The Mekong River project is one of the most important to date that involves, under U.N. auspices, the mobilization of external assistance for a major regional water development program. This project is designed to develop the water resources of the Lower Mekong and its major tributaries with respect to hydroelectric power generation, irrigation and water supplies, flood control, navigation, and looking further, the general economic improvement of this watershed area which includes Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Viet-Nam.

### **Petroleum**

The Committee on Industrial Development which met March 5-28, 1962, considered a report, prepared by the U.N. Secretariat, entitled "Petroleum Exploration—Capital Requirements and Methods of Financing." This report was referred by the Committee on Industrial Development to the ECOSOC for consideration at its 34th session from July 3-August 3, 1962.

Speaking for the United States, Seymour M. Finger called the record of private enterprise in petroleum "little short of sensational," pointing out that over 94 percent of the free world's production had been privately financed. He noted that massive investment of capital is required for petroleum exploration and that it is employed only at great risk. He felt that developing countries had to weigh the investment of capital in oil against the safer yield of investment in other sectors of the economy where social benefits, such as education and training, roads and harbors, were also to be gained. In summary, the U.S. Representative stated that the report "brought out plainly that petroleum exploration was both costly and risky and that private enterprise had fostered a spectacular growth in world production, bringing substantial benefit to many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America." He noted that "private enterprise was still prepared



to cooperate in the further exploration of petroleum production on mutually acceptable terms."

After extensive discussion, the Council took note of the Secretary-General's study and requested the Committee for Industrial Development to consider at its third session any changes and additions that might be necessary to enhance the usefulness of the study.

The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) held a Second Symposium on the Development of Petroleum Resources of Asia and the Far East, in Tehran, Iran, from September 1-15, 1962, with representatives from 25 countries in attendance. The meeting was devoted extensively to studies concerning the geological exploration methods and techniques used in the ECAFE region. The United States prepared 20 technical papers on the various agenda items for the Symposium.

In his remarks to the Symposium on the progress made in the development of petroleum resources, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Interior, John M. Kelly, noted that oil and gas supply 73 percent of the total energy consumed in the United States. He said, "I am also proud, Mr. Chairman, to note that our private companies are very active in the ECAFE Region and make available their technical knowledge, along with their financial reserves, to the member countries of the region to aid in their petroleum development."

The Symposium considered further the establishment and utilization of an ECAFE Regional Petroleum Institute and reviewed the technical assistance which had been provided to member countries by the United Nations.

### **Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Resources**

By a resolution adopted December 12, 1958, the 13th General Assembly, noting that the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, as affirmed in the two draft Covenants completed by the Commission on Human Rights, included "permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources," decided to establish a commission to conduct a full survey of the status of that sovereignty as a basic constituent of the right to self-determination, with recommendations, where necessary, for strengthening it. The General Assembly further decided that, in the conduct of this survey, due regard should be paid to the rights and duties of states under international law, and to the importance of encouraging international cooperation in the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

The Commission on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources held three sessions in 1959, 1960, and 1961, respectively. It was com-

posed of representatives of Afghanistan, Chile, Guatemala, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, and the United States. At its third session the Commission adopted three resolutions, the most important of which was a request to the Economic and Social Council to recommend for adoption by the General Assembly a declaration of eight principles concerning the permanent sovereignty of peoples and nations over their natural wealth and resources.

Upon the recommendation of the ECOSOC, the Commission's report was taken up by the 17th session of the General Assembly. While the draft resolution proposed in the Commission's report did contain recognition of the obligations of states under international law in their treatment of foreign property, it was viewed by the United States as deficient with respect to: the standard of compensation for the taking of foreign property; the recognition of the principle that foreign investment agreements freely entered into shall be faithfully observed; and the proper relationship between domestic remedies and arbitration or international adjudication in any case where the question of compensation for a taking of foreign property would give rise to a controversy. These three deficiencies were remedied at the 17th General Assembly.

At the same time, the two far-reaching amendments proposed by the Soviet Union, which would have destroyed the resolution's balance by exaggerating sovereign prerogatives, and by asserting "the inalienable right . . . to the unobstructed execution of nationalization, expropriation and other essential measures," were defeated. Also defeated or withdrawn were amendments running counter to those whose purpose was to remedy the draft resolution's three deficiencies, and motions to refer the draft resolution to a reconstituted Commission on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources.

The Soviet amendment providing for "the inalienable right . . . to the unobstructed execution of nationalization, expropriation and other essential measures" failed of adoption in the Economic and Financial (Second) Committee, and then was definitively rejected by a vote of 34 to 48, with 21 abstentions, when reintroduced in plenary.

The second major Soviet amendment declaring unreserved support for measures "to re-establish or strengthen . . . sovereignty over natural wealth and resources" was adopted in the Second Committee by a vote of 43 to 32, with 16 abstentions, in the course of an extended night session at which 26 votes were taken; its approval led the United States to vote against the resolution as a whole in Committee. In

response to determined opposition to the maintenance of this passage of the draft resolution, however, it was deleted in plenary by a vote of 38 to 41, with 15 abstentions—far short of the two-thirds majority required for adoption. The resolution as a whole was adopted by the General Assembly December 14, 1962, by a vote of 87 (U.S.) to 2 (France and South Africa), with 12 abstentions.

As finally adopted, the resolution on permanent sovereignty over natural resources strikes a balance between the rights and obligations of sovereignty in regard to the treatment of foreign investment. On the one hand, it emphasizes that peoples and nations possess permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources. On the other hand, it provides:

1. assurance of "appropriate compensation" in accordance with international law for taking of foreign property (which the United States consistently defined to mean prompt, adequate, and effective compensation);

2. in case of controversy over compensation, that local remedies shall be exhausted, but where there is agreement to that effect, settlement of the dispute should be made through arbitration or international adjudication; and

3. foreign investment agreements freely entered into by, or between states, shall be observed in good faith—a provision which was clearly understood to cover contracts between states and private foreign investors as well as governmental agreements.

### *Industrial Development*

The United Nations has maintained a continuing interest in the problems of industrial development. In December 1952 the General Assembly adopted a resolution directing the ECOSOC to promote studies of a program for the rapid industrialization of less developed countries and to submit concrete proposals for measures that might aid developing countries in their industrialization effort. In subsequent years studies under this broad directive have covered such subjects as capital intensity in heavy engineering construction, size of plant in industry, management of industrial enterprises in less developed countries, and financing of industrialization.

More recently, the Committee for Industrial Development (CID) was established in 1960 as a means of "accelerating the process of industrialization of underdeveloped countries" by providing information, advice, and assistance. At its first session in the spring of 1961



the CID established an Industrial Development Center to act as the focal point within the United Nations for coordination and integration of industrial development activities. In 1962, Jose Antonio Mayobre, former Venezuelan Ambassador to the United States, was appointed Commissioner of Industrial Development to head the operations of the Center.

During the second session of the CID, convened in March 1962, the most significant development was the advancement of a proposal for the establishment of a specialized agency in the field of industrialization—a proposal to which the United States was opposed. Subsequently the ECOSOC in April adopted a compromise resolution which urged the Secretary-General to appoint an advisory committee of 10 experts to examine the question of further organizational changes that might be necessary to intensify, concentrate, and expedite the U.N. effort for the industrial development of the developing countries, including the advisability of establishing a specialized agency for industrial development. The U.S. held, both at the CID meeting and in the ECOSOC, that needed services in industrialization can be provided within the U.N. system rather than by establishing a new specialized agency.

During the year the Industrial Development Center was reorganized and divided into a Research and Evaluation Division and a Technological Division, each with four subunits. The Research and Evaluation Division is primarily concerned with the economic aspects of industry, including planning and programing of industrial development; and with government policies for promotion of industrialization, including location problems, development of small scale industries, and the broad social and economic implications of industrialization.

The Technological Division is primarily concerned with the scientific and technological aspects of industrial development, including analysis of processes, technical and managerial training, and exchange of technical data, and supplies information regarding industrial development programs of particular interest to developing countries. This Division is also responsible for the coordination of activities with the Specialized Agencies and, as far as possible, with other international programs in the field of industry.

The U.N. Technical Cooperation programs continued to include a high percentage of projects directly concerned with industrialization; in the case of the Special Fund these absorb about one-fourth of the total costs of projects so far approved.

### *Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)*

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) was established in 1945 to serve member governments by undertaking various programs and projects in the general fields of agriculture, fisheries, and forestry. The FAO works on worldwide and regional problems of food and agriculture. It also collects statistics and other data of interest to member countries. In addition to these regular activities, the FAO promoted and is operating the World Food Program, in cooperation with the United Nations and the Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign, which was launched in 1960.

During the past 17 years membership in this organization increased from 34 in 1945 to 104 (including 4 associate members) at the end of 1962. In recent years the FAO has been giving increasing attention to the food and agricultural problems of less developed countries. In 1962, with the emergence of newly independent African nations, it has directed greater attention to that continent.

The FAO is currently operating, in addition to its regular program, technical assistance projects costing about \$35 million annually. During 1962 EPTA provided \$9.5 million to FAO for its technical assistance projects, and the approved allocation for 1963 amounts to \$11.9 million. The Special Fund approved \$25.6 million in 1962 for FAO-operated projects. To date the FAO is acting as executing agency for 96 projects involving Special Fund allocations of more than \$76 million. These projects, 66 of which were underway at the end of 1962, are scheduled to be carried out over the next 2-5 years.

#### **U.S. Participation in FAO Meetings**

In 1962 the United States participated in 59 FAO-sponsored meetings. Included were sessions of the FAO Council, which is the principal governing body of FAO between sessions of the Conference. Some were meetings of the regional forestry and fisheries commissions and the International Rice Commission; some were meetings of working groups on such commodities as grains, rice, cocoa, coconut, citrus fruits, milk, and milk products; some were technical meetings concerning veterinary education, animal disease and health problems. In addition, meetings were held jointly by FAO and other international organizations, such as the UN/FAO World Food Program, and the FAO/WHO Conference on Food Standards.

### Forestry Program

As a means of improving forest inventories, which are now being conducted by several Latin American countries, the FAO Latin American Forestry Commission has recently set up a special section to advise governments on effective forest inventory procedures. During 1962 the FAO-North American Forestry Commission sponsored a coordinated attack on 70 forest pest problems by Mexico, Canada, and the United States and accelerated international cooperation in forest fire prevention, control, and research.

### Fisheries Program

The FAO's fisheries programs in 1962 have been geared to the intensified fishing effort which has resulted in a doubling of the world's fishery landings since 1950. This increase, however, coupled with rapid economic and technological change, has posed many new international problems. The FAO Fisheries Division has responded to the demand for information and for sound technical advice over a very wide area of international activity. The *Yearbook of Fishery Statistics*, the quarterly *Fisheries Abstracts*, and the *Current Bibliography for Aquatic Sciences and Fisheries* were among the many publications of the Fisheries Division that have been most useful to the United States, as well as to other countries.

During the year, the FAO Director General, in response to a request of the 11th Conference which met in October-November 1961, established an Advisory Committee on Marine Resources Research. This Committee, which includes two U.S. representatives, will provide the Fisheries Division with the advice of world-renowned experts in developing programs of work. It will also provide advice on the fisheries aspects of oceanographic research programs for the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission.

Also, from July 2-14, 1962, the United States hosted in La Jolla, California, the FAO-sponsored World Scientific Meeting on the Biology of Tunas and Related Species. Because of the economic importance of the U.S. tuna fisheries, and the extensive tuna research programs being conducted by the U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries and other agencies, implementation of the recommendations of the FAO meeting should prove of great benefit to the United States. The most significant of these recommendations, which the Director General has already taken steps to implement, calls for the establishment of a continuing Committee for the Facilitation of Tuna Research.



Measures taken by the FAO to promote human consumption of fish protein concentrates have created worldwide interest. This FAO program has supplemented and strengthened similar programs by private and government interests within the United States.

### **Animal Health Program**

The work of the FAO on animal health campaigns has been noteworthy in the past 2 years, and of vital interest to the United States. Several exotic diseases, such as African swine fever, African horse sickness, and the African strain (SAT-1) of foot-and-mouth disease, which could invade the North American Continent if permitted to spread, have received specific attention. Though the FAO has made some progress in dealing with the two former diseases, it is still too early to measure results of campaign efforts against the SAT-1 strain of foot-and-mouth disease, which is now in the Middle East and spreading toward Western Europe.

### **Pesticides Program**

On the initiative of Canada and with strong backing from the United States, the FAO Conference, in the fall of 1961, instructed the FAO to cooperate with the World Health Organization (WHO) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) in fostering a coordinated program on agricultural pesticides.

The various facets of the program include: labeling and registration of pesticides; analytical methods; effects on wildlife, soils, et cetera; safety in manufacturing and handling; and insect resistance to pesticides. This is an attempt to evolve uniform studies on pesticides in order to have regulations in one country applicable to other countries, to make information on methodology and data available to all member countries, and to encourage the countries to establish rules and regulations regarding the manufacture and use of pesticides.

### **Food Standards Program**

The problem of coordination presented by the growing number of food standards programs undertaken by many organizations prompted the FAO Regional Conference for Europe in 1960 to request the FAO in consultation with the WHO to establish a program on food standards and associated requirements. The FAO Conference in the fall of 1961 helped pave the way for an *ad hoc* Joint FAO/WHO Conference on Food Standards in October 1962.

It has been proposed that the program should include the following aspects: definition, composition, quality, designation, labeling, sampling, analysis and hygiene of food standards. The purpose is to make available in unified form, all internationally acceptable food standards.

### Publications

By collecting and publishing worldwide statistics on many aspects of food production, distribution, and utilization, the FAO renders an important publications service to its members. It also publishes agricultural production and trade yearbooks, the forestry and fisheries yearbooks, and other publications summarizing world statistics or giving the food balance picture or summarizing the current situation regarding certain commodities.

In addition it prepares and distributes reports and studies on world food problems, summaries of new technical and economic findings, and other materials that are useful to the United States as well as to other member countries. Some examples are: *State of Food and Agriculture*, a comprehensive review issued annually; *Agricultural Studies*, which to date have covered 57 separate subjects; *Agricultural Development Papers*, 74 of which have been issued for guidance of agricultural leaders; *Nutritional Studies*, including 18 major studies; a monthly *Plant Protection Bulletin*; a monthly *Bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics*; a bi-monthly *Fisheries Abstracts*; quarterly *Unasylva*; and numerous publications in the *Commodity* and *Commodity Report* series.

In addition, FAO now publishes the *FAO Marketing Guide*, the *FAO Atomic Energy Series*, the *FAO Food Additive Control Series*, and a quarterly entitled: *Food and Agricultural Legislation*.

### World Food Program

A 3-year experimental World Food Program (WFP), which emerged as a consequence of resolutions adopted in 1961 by the U.N. General Assembly and the FAO Conference, is a multilateral program of assistance to developing countries, based on the utilization of surplus foods.

The purpose of the World Food Program is to use food contributed by certain countries in such a way as to help the economic and social development of other countries. The Program will also meet food needs in case of emergencies. Its central objective, however, is to

eliminate the conditions which make food aid necessary. The Program stands for development and not for charitable relief.

The Intergovernmental Committee created jointly in 1961 by the United Nations and the FAO met in early 1962 to devise the organization framework and to develop operations rules. The procedures and arrangements for the Program were approved by concurrent sessions of the FAO Council and the U.N. Economic and Social Council in April 1962. Shortly thereafter A. H. Boerma, a citizen of the Netherlands who had previously been an Assistant Director General of FAO, was appointed Executive Director of the WFP.

A Pledging Conference was held in New York in February 1962 to obtain voluntary contributions to the WFP of commodities, services, and cash, with a goal of \$100 million. By the end of 1962, \$89.6 million had been pledged. The United States pledged \$40 million in commodities, and \$10 million in shipping services and cash.

In October 1962 the Intergovernmental Committee authorized the Executive Director to proceed with the Program. It determined that the 3-year experimental program would go into effect as of January 1, 1963. As 1962 closed, the planning for a number of projects was almost completed.

### **Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign**

As a stimulant to efforts to increase food production, and to improve nutrition, the general levels of living and the effectiveness of food distribution, the Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign was begun in 1960. One of the highlights of this Campaign will be the World Food Congress, to be held in Washington, D.C., with the United States as the host government, June 4-18, 1963. The Congress will not only bring into focus the world's food problems but will also commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Hot Springs Conference in May and June 1943, which established an Interim Commission to plan the permanent FAO. Some 700 foreign participants are expected to participate at this Congress. The designation of a Freedom-From-Hunger Week, to be observed in the United States March 17-23, 1963, should give further emphasis to the campaign.

More than 50 of the member countries have formed national Freedom-From-Hunger Committees to develop plans for their countries' participation in the Campaign. The activities in the United States are being carried out by the American Freedom-From-Hunger Foundation, established within the framework of the White House Office of Food for Peace. In support of the Campaign, this Foundation gives overall leadership within the United States by stimulating effective participation of nongovernmental and citizen groups.



*International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)*

The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) was established in 1947 for the purpose of developing "the principles and techniques of international air navigation, and to foster the planning and development of international air transport . . . ." By the end of 1962 there were a total of 98 members. Members added during the year include Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Tanganyika, and Upper Volta. During the same period, the ICAO Council was increased from 21 to 27 member countries.

At the seventh session of the ICAO Communications Division in January-February 1962 the United States succeeded in having specifications for secondary surveillance radar (SSR) adopted. These provide the air traffic controller with continuous, reliable, and accurate information concerning the position, identity, and altitude of every SSR-equipped aircraft in his control area. The Communications Division recommended far-reaching changes in the ICAO Standards and Recommended Practices with regard to Instrument Landing System (ILS). The changes, which will permit instrument landings under less favorable weather conditions, were proposed primarily by the United States and the International Air Transport Association. The Division also revised ICAO's distress, urgency, and safety procedures for radio communication and brought them more closely into line with those of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU). Agreement was reached on a single world standard frequency for survival radio equipment used by civil aircraft—a problem which had plagued aviation administrations and industry for many years.

In August and September 1962, 90 ICAO member governments attended a major session of the ICAO Assembly held at Rome, Italy, for the purpose of reviewing the work of the organization in the technical, economic, legal and administrative fields, and drawing up a series of policy resolutions to guide the ICAO's work for the next 3 years. On the question of the future development of supersonic aircraft for commercial use, the Assembly urged governments to make sure that these aircraft will be able to operate at a level of safety at least equal to that of other commercial aircraft, and not create excessive noise; and require a minimum of special ground services and facilities. The ICAO Assembly asked the Council to insure that international agreement is reached on these matters; and that it collect and disseminate data concerning traffic volume and patterns as well as information on world demand for air transport, that might be helpful in planning for both subsonic and supersonic aircraft operations.

The Assembly agreed that the ICAO should continue to concentrate its technical assistance activities upon the ground services necessary for civil aviation and upon the putting into effect of the ICAO Standards and Recommended Practices. It stressed the importance of national and regional aeronautical training centers as the most effective means of training qualified specialists in civil aviation. The United States proposed a resolution urging the ICAO Council to help countries plan, develop, and carry out national programs related to the provision of facilities and services called for by ICAO regional plans. There was widespread support in the Assembly for a new ICAO study of the economics of airports and air navigation facilities. Pending completion of this study by the ICAO Council, it was decided that no decision is to be made concerning the need for an international conference on the subject—a position which the United States supported.

The ICAO Legal Committee, which met at the same time and place as the Assembly, completed its work on a draft international convention on the legal status of aircraft in international flight. The draft convention, which the United States hopes will be opened for signature in 1964, deals with the subject of crimes committed aboard aircraft and other acts which may prejudice the safety of the aircraft or of persons or property on board. The draft convention also provides for international cooperation to insure prompt action in cases of "hijacking."

For the most part, the United States approved the recommendations of the second ICAO Pacific Regional Air Navigation Meeting held in September and October 1962. This meeting of 12 ICAO member countries prepared a revised plan of the facilities and services necessary for safe, regular and efficient civil air operations in the Pacific region for consideration by the ICAO Air Navigation Commission and Council. In general, the meeting was concerned with fulfilling the requirements of turbojet aircraft, with their faster speeds, higher cruising altitudes, and greater range than the conventional piston-engined aircraft. More specifically, the meeting developed new plans for flight information regions and control areas, radio navigation aids and communications, and meteorological services.

The seventh session of the ICAO Aerodromes, Air Routes and Ground Aids Division, held at ICAO Headquarters in Montreal in November and December 1962, reviewed the ICAO specifications and guidance material on the physical characteristics of airports. This Division reached agreement on the need for more stringent specifications for runways and the areas beyond the runway. In this connection, it specified an extended takeoff climb area at the end of each

runway used for takeoff purposes. Recommendations for extended approach surfaces for instrument operating during inclement weather and completely new lighting systems, including centerline lighting for the full length of runways and narrow-gage, touchdown-zone lighting for the takeoff and landing in bad visibility conditions, were also introduced. During the course of the meeting the United States showed films depicting the design concept employed at the new Dulles International Airport Terminal Building as well as the mobile lounge principle. For observational purposes some delegates made a trip to Dulles airport.

### *Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)*

The Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) was established in 1958 as a U.N. Specialized Agency for the purpose of dealing with international maritime issues, especially questions relating to safety at sea.

During calendar year 1962, the IMCO concerned itself with several important issues relating to maritime transportation in which the United States has a continuing interest. At the Conference on Prevention of Oil Pollution at Sea (the third of its kind), which met in London in March and April, 55 member countries, including the United States, attended. Amendments to the 1954 Oil Pollution Convention were prepared, which, when they come into force, will further reduce pollution caused by oil discharged from ships into the sea.

The IMCO Maritime Safety Committee established a Subcommittee on Subdivision and Stability Problems. This Subcommittee comprises 16 nations, together with representatives of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the International Chamber of Shipping. It has created two working groups concerning the stability of ships. The Subcommittee's work will include among other things an examination of reports of casualties caused by lack of stability and by breaching of the hull, examination of national stability requirements, and a study of the external forces affecting ships' stability.

In accordance with the decision taken by the International Conference on Safety of Life at Sea, 1960, IMCO will prepare a unified international code for the transport of dangerous goods by sea, taking into account existing maritime practices and procedures. To implement this recommendation, IMCO's Maritime Safety Committee appointed a working group, which held its second meeting in Novem-



ber. The group decided to prepare detailed proposals including those relating to packing and stowage of some 600 dangerous substances at present carried by sea, and establish provisions to deal with possible new substances. Each member of the group is responsible for preparing proposals for a particular class of dangerous goods.

A series of meetings of the IMCO Working Group on Facilitation of Travel and Transport in which the United States participated got underway in London during November. Its aim was to reduce and simplify procedures and documents required by governments respecting ships entering and leaving port. In this connection, the Working Group created three subgroups to deal with questions relating to customs, health, and immigration; and it suggested that as long-range objectives these subgroups should seek the establishment of an international convention covering these matters.

### *International Telecommunication Union (ITU)*

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) was established in 1934, replacing the International Telegraph Union which had been in existence since 1865. In 1947 it readjusted its organizational structure to become a U.N. Specialized Agency. Its primary purposes are "to promote the development of technical facilities and their most efficient operation with a view to improving the efficiency of telecommunication services, . . . and making them, so far as possible, generally available to the public. . . ."

The Administrative Council of the ITU on which 25 countries, including the United States, are represented, held its 1962 session (May 5-June 9) in the just completed ITU building in Geneva, Switzerland. The Council arranged for the convening of various conferences, including a preparatory session in 1964 and a final session in 1965 of an aeronautical radio conference, bearing in mind the recommendations on this subject made by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). It also arranged for the convening of two sessions of an African Broadcasting Conference in 1963 and 1964. This Conference was requested by the African countries, which are anxious to reach agreement on the technical bases for the planning and use of radio frequencies in the African region.

The Council gave particular attention to two matters concerning outer space communications. First, it decided in consultation with members of the ITU that the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference (EARC) to be concerned primarily with the allocation of frequency bands for space radio communications would be convened

in Geneva on October 7, 1963, and that the agenda for this Conference would be considered further at the 1963 session of the Council on the basis of comments from members.

Second, the Council completed a report to the Economic and Social Council on outer space developments in response to the resolution adopted by the 16th U.N. General Assembly. The report discussed the structure and role of the ITU in general as well as measures already taken and contemplated by the ITU concerning space communications.

In response to the invitation of the Council that members report on technical progress in space communications, on appropriate subjects for international cooperation in this field, and on subjects which should be included on the agenda of the proposed 1963 EARC, the United States on December 31:

1. provided a list of space projects underway and being planned;
2. observed that international cooperation in space communications will be needed in the solution of a number of problems, such as the establishment and location of earth stations for space communication, gathering of complete statistics on international telecommunication traffic and reliable estimates of anticipated traffic volume, consideration of international telecommunication rates in the light of the impact of satellite communications, and the nature and extent of planning required for new or expanded cable, radio and satellite communication facilities so as to derive the maximum benefit from each of these modes of communication;

3. noted that the agenda proposed by the 1959 Administrative Radio Conference, as elaborated by the Administrative Council at its 1962 session, should form the primary items on the agenda of the EARC; and that in addition the agenda should include the question of frequencies for the radio astronomy service. Anticipated traffic requirements would be considered under the first item of the agenda, which would be rephrased to include the examination of technical progress, plans and developments in the use of space radio communications.

The United States noted that although it was not listed on its agenda, the EARC would provide an unusual opportunity for the informal discussion of additional subjects appropriate for international cooperation in this field. The United States also observed that the United States delegation to the EARC would be prepared to discuss informally matters relating to the establishment and development of international communications through satellites.

In response to requests from members, the Council authorized the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB) to arrange seminars on the management and use of the radio frequency spectrum, especially for new and developing countries. The IFRB will initiate this new program with three seminars in 1963, all of them in Geneva, the first one in English, the second one in French, and the third one in Spanish.

Twelve of the 14 study groups of the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR) held meetings in 1962 to prepare proposals for the 10th plenary of the Committee to be convened in Geneva on January 15, 1963. The United States participated actively in all of these study groups. The first meeting of Study Group IV on space systems was held in Washington, D.C., in May 1962. A significant decision of this meeting was the acceptance of the concept of sharing radio frequencies by space communications systems and existing terrestrial microwave relay systems. Definitive action will be taken on this and other space questions, including radio astronomy, at the 1963 plenary Assembly. These decisions will have an important bearing on the deliberations of the EARC in October 1963.

Study groups of the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (CCITT) met during 1962 to consider problems raised by the development of telephone-type intercontinental submarine cables, both in telephony and telegraphy; worldwide traffic routing plans; intercontinental signaling and operating methods; and new transmission characteristics. New operation, transmission, and signaling problems related to developments in the field of space communications are expected to receive increased attention in the CCITT.

Arrangements were made by the ITU for meetings of the three subcommittees of the General Plan Committee on the Development of the International Telecommunication Network. The subcommittee for Africa met at Dakar, January 19–February 5, 1962. The subcommittee for Asia will convene in Geneva, February 5–16, 1963. The subcommittee for Latin America will also be held in 1963. Regional plans are scheduled to be reviewed at a meeting of the General Plan Committee in Rome in December 1963.

### *Universal Postal Union (UPU)*

The Universal Postal Union (UPU) was formally established in 1874 following a series of conferences of interested nations held at the initiative of U.S. Postmaster General Montgomery Blair. The



UPU primarily serves as the mechanism by which member governments reach agreement on the regulations necessary to enable international mails to be efficiently and promptly transmitted.

The United States has been a member of the Union from the beginning and plays a leading part in its activities. It is a member of the Consultative Committee on Postal Studies (CCEP), a permanent committee which was established to study such technical, operational, and economic problems of interest to the postal administration as the mechanization of certain postal operations. The United States was elected as the country to appoint a chairman of the Management Council of the CCEP at the time of its establishment at the 14th Postal Congress, Ottawa, 1957. In that capacity, U.S. Representatives took a leading part in meetings held in Bern, Switzerland, in October 1962 to consider problems concerned with the formulation and presentation of proposals for the 15th Postal Congress, to be held in Vienna, June 1964.

One of the principal proposals that the United States suggested was that the 15th Congress consider a plan for the revision of the present Convention to permit its permanent features to be put into a Constitution and provisions governing the operations of the postal services to be incorporated in a separate convention.

On the basis of the experience of the first 5 years of its existence, the Management Council revised and brought up to date the rules under which the CCEP operates. They will be submitted in the form of proposals to the 15th Congress for consideration and approval.

In his capacity as Chairman of the Management Council of the CCEP, the U.S. Representative approved for publication and distribution to the 117 members of the UPU the latest series of studies completed by the Council on technical, operational, and economic problems of the Postal Service, and participated in meetings of the Executive and Liaison Committee when matters concerning the CCEP were discussed. In addition he participated, upon request, in the work of subcommittees concerned with questions related to airmail transportation, standardization of sizes of envelopes, U.N. technical assistance, and other matters.

As a result of a resolution adopted on August 3, 1962, at the 34th session of the ECOSOC the UPU joined the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA). With funds from its regular program and from EPTA, the UPU in 1962 sent over 100 postal administration officials to the United States for study and training.

## SOCIAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES

During 1962 the United States maintained its role of leadership in planning for social development in the United Nations. The term "social development" covers activities in many fields—health and nutrition, education, vocational training, labor standards, housing and urban development, and social welfare. Programs in such fields are the concern of a number of U.N. organs: such Specialized Agencies as the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), and the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); and such other organs as the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). A broad range of social policy and programs are considered by the Social Commission, and reviewed by the Economic and Social Council, and by the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural (Third) Committee of the General Assembly. Specific aspects of social policy are the concern of the Population Commission, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on the Status of Women, and the Narcotic Drugs Commission. In addition, the regional economic commissions concern themselves with social as well as economic development.

### *Social Planning and Action*

As in 1961, the main concern of the 1962 session of the Social Commission was again to further programs which contribute to balanced economic and social development of less developed areas.

The five substantive items on its agenda were: planning for balanced economic and social development (see page 246); housing and urban development (see page 248); organization and administration of social services (see page 247); strengthening of the work of the United Nations in the social field (see page 247); and proposals for the meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Group of Experts on Community Development.

The United States took the leadership on the first four of these items, and initiated and cosponsored three of the four main resolutions which the Social Commission submitted to the ECOSOC for action.

### **Establishment of Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning**

The most significant accomplishment of the Social Commission was the recommendation, approved by the ECOSOC by a vote of 14

(U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, for creation of a Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning as an adjunct to the Council. This resolution was adopted after consideration of a comprehensive report of an *ad hoc* group of experts. The report revealed the existence of very serious housing shortages and situations of urban overcrowding, particularly in developing countries, and emphasized that much greater national and international efforts would be required to overcome the problem.

The new body, which is composed of 21 governments, including the United States, would, *inter alia*, examine technical assistance activities in its field of responsibility; advise the Council on coordination of housing programs among U.N. organs; and promote the exchange of experience and information in this field, with special reference to the needs of the less developed countries. Its first session was scheduled to be held in January 1963.

Speaking before the Social Commission, the U.S. Representative, Mrs. Jane Warner Dick, noted that the increasing rate of urbanization, particularly in underdeveloped areas, required increased attention and effort by all U.N. agencies. She also urged the economically advanced countries to support the efforts of the U.N. and other international organizations in the field of housing and urban development, particularly through increased support of the Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance.

At the same time, the U.S. Representative emphasized that international or other external resources can never meet more than a fraction of the housing, building, and urban development needs of developing countries. Nor can these countries utilize massive capital aid efficiently until their own resources are effectively organized under stable conditions. To this end, she urged the developing countries to recognize that their own internal resources are the primary means for development and to recognize the importance of developing personnel and institutions which will enable their resources to be mobilized and applied effectively to housing, building, and planning. The U.S. Representative stressed that the projects financed by international agencies should be chiefly training, research, demonstration, pilot, and experimental work which will enable recipient countries to mobilize or create domestic resources for housing, building, and urban development.

The U.S.-initiated resolution, cosponsored by Ecuador, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia, established the new Committee for Housing, Building, and Planning within the United Nations. The resolution was adopted by the Social Commission by a vote of 17 to 0, with 4 (Albania, Byelorussian S.S.R., the U.K., and U.S.S.R.) abstentions.



### Planning for Balanced Economic and Social Development

For several years now, in response to a number of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Social Commission and other bodies of the United Nations have given intensive consideration to problems of planning for balanced economic and social development.

Reflecting this concern, the U.N. Secretariat, in addition to the preparation of the *1961 Report on the World Social Situation*, which was largely devoted to a general analysis of the problem, undertook a series of case studies in about a dozen countries representing different levels of economic development, different degrees of planning, and a variety of political systems.

A report of the Secretary-General, which summarized the pattern of economic and social development, the methods and approaches described in the case studies and the two regional meetings devoted to the subject, was examined at the 1962 session of the Social Commission. The report made apparent that the important gap in our knowledge about planning is the lack of definite criteria for determining the best allocation of resources among the various social sectors and between the economic and social spheres.

In the view of the United States one of the conclusions that could be drawn from the report was the fact that the act of planning itself does not necessarily insure balanced economic and social development.

The United States, therefore, in cosponsorship with Malaya, Sudan, and Uruguay, introduced a draft resolution which as amended during the Commission debate and as finally approved by the ECOSOC:

1. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the specialized agencies concerned:

(a) To prepare, for the consideration of the Social Commission, on the basis of available studies, a report setting out for the use of Governments methods of determining the appropriate allocation of resources to the various social sectors, at different stages of economic development, and summarizing experience of various organizational arrangements for social planning in relation to development goals;

(b) To include in the report such proposed areas for further study as may be needed to develop more precise criteria for allocation of resources to various social programmes at different stages of development and improved government organizational arrangements;

(c) In the preparation of this report, to utilize the services of consultants, including economists with experience in dealing with problems of social development and experts from the social science disciplines with experience in planning;

The resolution also includes specific recommendations to the Secretary-General, member states, regional economic commissions, various other U.N. organs and Specialized Agencies, on ways to advance

and integrate economic and social planning. These include the appropriate selection of experts, training of personnel, exchange of experience, and organization of regional seminars.

### Strengthening the Work of the United Nations in the Social Field

In the extensive and complex network of multilateral activities, the Social Commission has a key role to play in the effort to strengthen the work of the United Nations in the social field. For the past several years the United States has consistently advocated, supported, and initiated steps to achieve this objective.

During the 1962 session this continued support was reemphasized in a draft resolution initiated by the United States and cosponsored by Malaya. This draft resolution, *inter alia*, proposed that in the years intervening between publication of the *World Social Situation* reports, the Secretary-General prepare for the use of the Social Commission a report on new policy developments involving major shifts in program emphasis and principal program activities being undertaken by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in the social field. This report will assist the Social Commission in fulfilling its responsibilities for overall social policy, for the determination of program priorities and objectives in the various social fields, for working out practical recommendations with a view to promoting higher standards of living for the population, and for promoting social progress and development.

The draft resolution which was adopted unanimously also urged closer cooperation between various bodies of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies involved in the interrelationships between social and economic policy and planning, and "Calls to the attention of the General Assembly the need to provide the necessary resources for the United Nations to carry out programmes for strengthening and expanding its work in the social field to raise the level of living for all peoples during the Development Decade."

### Social Services

The United States actively participated in the deliberations on social services. It endorsed the *Report on the Organization and Administration of Social Services* drawn up in 1961 by an *ad hoc* expert group, particularly its conclusions concerning the need for additional studies in this field. It also supported the recommendation that the United Nations should continue to give high priority to assisting governments interested in drawing up, organizing, and admin-

istering national social service programs within the framework of overall economic and social development.

A resolution on social services and development planning, sponsored by Iraq, Sudan, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia, was adopted by the Commission and subsequently approved by the ECOSOC. Its purpose was to give the Secretary-General an opportunity to revamp the work program in line with current needs, to relate the technical studies to the action programs in the field, and to take account of the growing activities with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the regional commissions. In particular, it requested the Secretary-General to reappraise the U.N. social service program and to prepare recommendations for strengthening it to be considered by the Social Commission's 1963 session. It also requested the Secretary-General to prepare for the Commission's consideration at its 1964 session a special report on extension of family, youth, and child welfare services; training of personnel; and methods of financing these services; and authorized him to use, in cooperation with the UNICEF and the Specialized Agencies concerned, consultants in preparing both of these reports.

### *Housing and Urban Development*

More and better housing and related community facilities are among the most widespread of social aspirations. As such they received urgent attention by the United Nations during 1962, particularly as they related to urban development. The decision of the Economic and Social Council that the United Nations should, through the establishment of the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning (see page 244), provide stronger and more specialized leadership in housing, building, and physical planning clearly derives from this appreciation of the importance of this subject and from the expectation of the contributions these can make to economic and social progress during the Decade of the 1960's.

The Secretary-General's *Development Decade Proposals for Action*, endorsed by ECOSOC at its 34th session in 1962, include, as the principal medium of increased assistance for housing and urban development, an expanded program of pilot or demonstration projects designed to lead to the release of latent domestic resources. During 1962 there were three such projects in progress in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. A pilot project in Somaliland aims at reducing the cost of contractor-built houses and introducing self-help housing methods. The housing office which has been established to operate the project fund provides the nucleus of the Somali Government's future



agency for housing. In Indonesia a workshop has been established for the in-service training of local personnel and the working out of plans for the development of about 1,235 acres in the Pulo Mas district of Djakarta as a residential neighborhood for a population of 50-60 thousand persons. The main purpose of the project underway in Mexico is to improve environmental health conditions in slum areas through provision of potable water and a sanitary waste disposal system. Building components for dwelling improvement and necessary equipment and transportation will also be supplied to assist in self-help housing construction.

In addition, five new pilot projects are in active preparation; four in Africa (Ethiopia, Guinea, Rwanda, and Togo) and one in the Middle East (Iran). The objective of these projects will be to demonstrate better and more economical housing designs, to introduce self-help methods in building and reconstruction work, and to demonstrate comprehensive residential planning. It is envisaged that the pilot project in building research in Guinea will lead to the establishment of a French language regional center for African countries in housing, building, and town planning. The Specialized Agencies concerned are expected to participate in all of these projects.

The development of proposals for a comprehensive program of pilot projects in the developing countries, in accordance with available resources, is a subject of primary importance to be considered by the newly established Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning.

Cooperation was maintained and strengthened during the year between U.N. Headquarters, the Specialized Agencies—in particular, ILO, FAO, UNESCO, and WHO—and the regional economic commissions on programs concerning urban development, low-cost housing and related community facilities through joint projects, joint sponsorship of meetings, cooperation in technical assistance work and interagency consultations and meetings at the regional level. A European Seminar on Urban Development Policy and Planning, organized jointly by the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) and the U.N. Secretariat, with the cooperation of ILO, UNESCO, and WHO, was held in Warsaw in September 1962. A joint U.N.-ILO-UNESCO-WHO Workshop on Urbanization in Africa was held in Addis Ababa in April-May 1962. In Asia, the Mission to Survey and Evaluate Self-Help in Housing Methods and Practices in South-east Asia, composed of experts from the U.N. Headquarters, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), and the ILO, and assisted by other international agencies, visited several countries in the region to study their problems and give them guidance.

The Inter-American Housing and Planning Center of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Bogotá, Colombia, collaborated closely with the United Nations in several activities aimed at making a rapid improvement in housing conditions in Latin America.

Information was exchanged between the United States and the U.N. Secretariat on a wide range of housing topics, such as the determination of housing needs, international financing, and physical planning and building. During 1962 the U.S. Department of Commerce provided three man-months on reimbursable detail to the U.N. Headquarters in New York to assist in the drafting of Secretariat notes for the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning to meet in January 1963. A staff member is being loaned to the United Nations for 2 months to serve as Housing Advisor in Turkey under the U.N. Technical Assistance Program.

### *Community Development*

The United Nations and its Specialized Agencies have continued during 1962 to emphasize the usefulness of community development programs as a means of reaching people at the local level and involving them in activities which promote integrated economic and social development.

A particularly significant development in 1962 was the Singapore Asian Seminar on Urban Community Development. Though in the past, the United Nations has sponsored pilot urban community development projects and the Specialized Agencies and U.N. regional offices have considered the problems of urbanization in relation to community development, the Singapore Seminar was the first U.N. meeting devoted to the planning and administration of urban community development programs in the light of urban needs and rapid urbanization. Two representatives of the United States served as observers at the Singapore meeting, reflecting a growing conviction in this country that with rapid urbanization throughout the world there is need to explore and exploit the potential of community development as a stabilizing and developmental element in urban areas.

The interest and the rapid expansion of community development is reflected in the work of the U.N. regional offices. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA—see page 324) has established a Community Development and Social Welfare Section. The United States will be represented in 1963 at the second meeting of the ECA Standing Committee on Community Development and Social Welfare which had its first meeting in 1962. In addition to sponsoring conferences and

seminars and facilitating the flow of information, the ECA is also providing technical advice. In 1962 it assisted the municipality of Addis Ababa in moving forward with a community development program and is helping guide the establishment of a school of social work in Uganda.

The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE—see page 316) has three U.N. community development experts assigned to its Social Affairs Division. One U.N. community development expert is working out of the U.N. regional office in Beirut. Two experts are working with the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA—see page 320) one serving in Chile and the other in the Social Affairs Office in Mexico City.

In addition to the activities of the regional offices, the U.N. Secretariat Headquarters Community Development Group is continuing to sponsor international meetings and studies, one of the most significant being the drafting of a third report on land reform based on studies carried out in Latin America, the Far East, and the Middle East for consideration by the Economic and Social Council.

In 1962 national programs supported by the United Nations began to emerge in Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela. Influenced by the United Nations, the Ministerial level meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the OAS held in Mexico City in October 1962, passed a strong resolution urging member governments to promote to a maximum community development.

The U.N. Technical Assistance Program in community development continues to accelerate. In 1962, 46 expert missions were serving in more than 30 countries, as compared to 37 expert missions in approximately the same number of countries in 1961.

The work of the U.N. community development advisers was enhanced in 1962 by assistance from UNICEF which broadened its scope of activities to include assistance to community development programs with particular reference to training. Also in 1962 the U.N. Secretariat entered into negotiations with the Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) World Food Program to obtain additional support for community development activities.

The United States maintains continuing liaison with the United Nations in order to assure a constant flow of information, to coordinate activities and to avoid duplication of effort. This makes possible the best use of the combined limited resources in the face of increasing requests for assistance by countries recognizing the importance of community development as an instrument for balanced social, economic and political development.



### *Advisory Social Welfare Services*

The U.N. Advisory Social Welfare Services during 1962 helped more than 85 countries to establish or improve their social services through means of social welfare experts, fellowships and scholarships, regional seminars, technical literature and demonstration activities. Technical advice is provided in all phases of social welfare including family and child welfare, community organization, administration and research, social work education, rehabilitation, social defense, and the social aspects of housing. The rapid extension of the program in recent years has reflected the tremendous interest among the newly independent states in setting up social programs in both urban and rural areas. The General Assembly in December 1962 approved \$2,105,000 for the continuance of this program.

During 1962, 63 U.N. fellows and scholars studied in the United States. As a host country to these fellows, the United States keeps close touch with country needs and developments and the use made of these technical services. Graduate schools of social work in U.S. universities, and public and voluntary agencies cooperate in providing training facilities. Study interests of the fellows reflect country needs and changing approaches in national plans. For example, for the first time in 1962, social welfare administration and social research and planning were chosen as fields of study by as many as one-fifth of the U.N. fellows. Prevention and control of juvenile delinquency is another area attracting a growing number of fellows.

The United States also provides many experts to the Advisory Social Welfare Services program. American social workers serve as U.N. welfare advisors in every region of the world under this program. In 1962, for example, 2 U.S. welfare experts assisted in Iran with administration and training; in the U.N. regional office in Beirut a U.S. social welfare expert assists in regional consultation; other experts from this country have been recruited for Cyprus and the Republic of China; in Ceylon, a U.S. expert has assisted in the development of a basic social welfare program; in East Pakistan, 2 U.S. experts participated in the community development program and in the establishment of the training program in the College of Social Welfare.

Excellent coordination exists between the U.N. Advisory Social Welfare Services and UNICEF in the social welfare field. A policy for such cooperative activities was originally proposed by the United States and adopted with wide support by the UNICEF Executive Board. Among a majority of the approximately 55 social service

projects sponsored jointly by the United Nations and UNICEF, a social welfare expert has been provided through the Advisory Social Welfare Services. The new projects include, for example, the development in Ghana of a national program of day care for children of working mothers; Cyprus is strengthening the training of family and child welfare workers; Pakistan is extending its training facilities to meet the needs of families and children.

Coordination with the U.N. Specialized Agencies was also advanced in 1962 through this program. The U.N. Secretariat participated in joint meetings with U.N. Agencies such as WHO on problems concerning day care and institutional care of children.

The program in Africa has been accelerated, not only because of country interest but also because the Special Committee on Social Welfare of the ECA has pointed up needs in the social field. More than half of the total Advisory Welfare funds for 1962 were requested for the African region, including 10 countries south of the Sahara. These requests were mainly for consultation and fellowships in urban development, general welfare, family welfare, and housing and community development. A few fellowships were used in family and child welfare and training for social work. The series of regional seminars was continued, with a seminar in Abidjan on organization and administration of social services.

In Asia and the Near East, advisors in social welfare and community development and housing were provided in 16 countries. Fields of interest ranged from general welfare administration to specialists in family and child welfare, physiotherapy, and prison services. Regional seminars and working groups brought together experts from different countries to share experience and develop guidelines for on-going programs. For example, an Asian Seminar on Training for Family and Child Welfare was held in Bangkok in December 1962, and gave special attention to training of personnel for these services.

In the Middle East, technical assistance in training, rehabilitation, family and child welfare, and community development and juvenile delinquency involved both the use of experts and the provision of fellowships for study abroad.

In Latin America, most of the technical assistance was provided through expert consultants in training, family and child welfare, community development, and social defense. The European region had only short-term experts in such fields as town planning, group work, and social defense. A regional seminar on social services and

social security was held in Brussels, and a special program in rehabilitation of the handicapped was developed in Denmark.

Through direct contacts with many of the receiving countries, the United States has ample evidence of the beneficial results of this program in the establishment of community services and training centers and of its significant contribution to national planning in the decade of development.

### *Population*

The Population Commission did not meet during 1962, but a variety of demographic activities were carried on in accordance with recommendations made at its 1961 session. Among these were preparations for the 1965 World Population Conference, continuance of the World Census Program with emphasis on the analysis of data obtained from the censuses taken in various countries around 1960, announcement of the establishment in Cairo of a new Sub-Regional Demographic Research and Training Center for North Africa, and the holding of a seminar on African Population Problems in cooperation with the ECA (See page 325).

Arrangements were also made by ECAFE for an Asian Population Conference to be held in New Delhi in 1963.

The most notable development relating to population during 1962 was the adoption by the 17th General Assembly of a resolution, sponsored by 13 African, Asian and European nations, on population growth and economic development. A lively debate centered particularly on a section specifically authorizing U.N. technical assistance for action programs. This section failed to obtain the necessary vote and was deleted, with the United States abstaining. The resolution as amended was then adopted by a vote of 69 (U.S.) to 0, with 27 abstentions. It calls for U.N. action under five headings:

1. The Secretary-General is requested "to conduct an inquiry among the Governments of States Members . . . concerning the particular problems confronting them as a result of the reciprocal action of economic development and population changes."

2. The Economic and Social Council is asked, in cooperation with the Specialized Agencies, the regional economic commissions, and the Population Commission, "to intensify its studies and research on the inter-relationship of population growth and economic and social development, with particular reference to the needs of developing countries for investment in health and educational facilities. . . ."



3. The Economic and Social Council is requested to report its findings with respect to all of the foregoing to the General Assembly not later than at its 19th session in 1964.

4. U.N. encouragement and assistance to governments, especially those of developing countries, "in obtaining basic data and carrying out essential studies of the demographic aspects as well as other aspects of their economic and social development programs" was endorsed.

5. The World Population Conference, scheduled for 1965, is asked to "pay special attention to the inter-relationships of population growth with economic and social development, particularly in countries that are less developed. . . ."

During Committee debate on the resolution, Department of State Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, Richard N. Gardner, summarized U.S. policies as follows:

1. The United States is concerned about the social consequences of its own population trends and is devoting attention to them.

2. The United States wants to know more, and help others to know more, about population trends in less developed countries where present levels of population growth may constitute a major obstacle to the realization of goals of human economic and social development.

3. The United States would oppose any effort to dictate to any country the means to be employed in dealing with its population problem. The population policy of any country must be determined by that country and that country alone.

4. While the United States will not suggest to any other government what its attitudes or policies should be as they relate to population or the adoption of specific measures in its implementation, the United States believes that obstacles should not be placed in the way of other governments which, in the light of their own economic needs and cultural and religious values, seek solutions to their population problems. While we will not advocate any specific policy regarding population growth to another country, we can help other countries, upon request, to find potential sources of information and assistance on ways and means of dealing with population problems.

5. The United States believes that there is a great need for additional knowledge on population matters. There is a need for more information about the actual size and composition of existing populations and about future population trends—and both private organizations and governments as well as international organizations can help to provide it. There is a need for more facts about alternative methods of family planning that are consistent with different economic, social, cultural, and religious circumstances. There is a need for more facts about the impact of economic and social development on population trends and of population trends on economic and social development.

6. The United States believes that the United Nations and its affiliated agencies can have a significant role to play in the population field. My Government has actively supported the demographic work of the United Nations from the very early days of the organization . . . . It is the hope of the United States that these valuable efforts will be substantially expanded.

## *Social Defense*

The United States has continued to take an active interest in the U.N. program for prevention of crime and treatment of offenders. Through the efforts of the three national correspondents appointed by the U.S. President, liaison has been maintained with the U.N. Secretariat. The correspondents, who include Mr. James V. Bennett, Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Mr. Sanford Bates, a private consultant in corrections, and Dr. Thorsten Sellin, chairman of the Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, have apprised the U.N. Secretariat of current developments in correctional work throughout the United States. The correspondents were also called upon to contribute information and expert opinion on the status of capital punishment in the United States. Similar data has been assembled from a large number of other countries and the reports of the survey will be published by the Secretariat.

A discussion of capital punishment will be included on the agenda of the Third United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders to take place in Stockholm in August 1965.

Late in 1962, Mr. James V. Bennett was invited by the Secretary-General to represent the United States as a member of an *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts which was requested to advise the United Nations regarding the organization of the Third Congress and to consult on matters concerning the scheduling of meetings of the U.N. Consultative Group on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders. The committee was also asked to review the work program of the U.N. Secretariat and suggest ways of improving the effectiveness of the *International Review of Criminal Policy*, a periodic publication which provides a means for exchange of information on new developments and new legislation in member countries.

The U.N. Secretariat reported to the ECOSOC late in the year, that high priority has been assigned to two major projects—a basic study of the extent of juvenile delinquency, and an assessment of programs for delinquency prevention. Preliminary work has been started on both projects in anticipation of their completion prior to the 1965 Congress. It is expected that discussion of problems of juvenile delinquency will occupy a prominent place at the Stockholm meeting.

## *Narcotic Drugs*

The United States was represented at the 17th session of the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs, which met at Geneva from May 14 through June 1, 1962, and at the meeting of the Commission's Committee on Illicit Traffic, which met at Geneva from May 8 through May 11, 1962.

The Commission adopted the report of its Committee on Illicit Traffic, and concluded that opium and the opiates, cannabis and cocaine continued to predominate in the illicit traffic. The Commission's report indicated, however, that there were changes in the overall pattern of illicit traffic, notably in Thailand, where it was reported that diacetylmorphine (heroin) had become the major problem since the prohibition of opium in 1959. There were also indications the report noted, that the traffic in cocaine was spreading throughout Latin America and thence to other parts of the world. Illicit markets for cocaine persisted in the Mediterranean area, Asia, Canada, and the United States.

The report also stated that Canada, the United States, Hong Kong, and, to a lesser extent, Japan and Thailand, continued to be targets for the highly organized international traffic in diacetylmorphine. The governments of these countries were taking vigorous steps to combat this traffic.

The report pointed out that government reports received by the United Nations gave evidence of increased activity by illicit manufacturing centers. In this connection Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Hong Kong, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Macao, Mexico, Peru, Syria, Thailand and Turkey had submitted reports of the discovery and destruction of laboratories, and of other indications of the existence of manufacture. It was noted, in the Commission's report that, as in previous years, there was evidence of clandestine conversion of opium into morphine or diacetylmorphine close to some producing areas.

The U.S. Representative, H. J. Anslinger, urged that countries where the illicit manufacture of diacetylmorphine was a problem should place acetic anhydride and acetyl chloride under control, both in respect to importation and internal distribution. He also called attention to the important contribution which manufacturers of these chemicals could make in maintaining surveillance over the distribution of their products.

On the basis of the documents reviewing the illicit traffic prepared by the U.N. Secretary-General, and of the work of the Committee on



Illicit Traffic, the Commission decided to give emphasis each year to a different area or region. The proposal of the U.S. Representative that the Far East be given particular attention at the Commission's next session, was adopted.

A draft resolution, sponsored by Turkey, United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia, recommending that governments take appropriate measures to place the production, distribution and use of barbiturates under strict control, was adopted by a vote of 16 to 0, with 3 (U.S.) abstentions.

A United Arab Republic draft resolution (cosponsored by the United States), requesting members of the United Nations, or the Specialized Agencies to encourage research into the socio-economic and medical aspects of drug addiction and illegal drug consumption under various national conditions, and to report the results and findings thereof to the Secretary-General, was adopted by a vote of 11 (U.S.) to 0, with 7 abstentions.

The Canadian draft resolution inviting countries to take the necessary steps for ratification of, or accession to, the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, was adopted by a vote of 12 to 2 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions. Since the 1953 Protocol, which contains satisfactorily stringent control provisions, is expected to enter into effect shortly, the United States opposes the coming into force of the Single Convention because in its present form it does not provide suitable controls for the limitation of the production of opium, and would in other respects result in a weakening of existing international controls.

A resolution submitted by Canada and the Netherlands, requesting the Secretary-General to prepare a legal commentary on the Single Convention, and to draft an administrative guide for the application of the Single Convention, was adopted by a vote of 10 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions.

Finally, the Commission decided to request the Secretary-General to take such Secretariat action as he considered necessary in the event of the coming into force of the 1953 Protocol.

### *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)*

The Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established in 1951 pursuant to a resolution of the 5th General Assembly. Its functions are to provide legal and political protection to refugees within the scope of the statute of the Office (primarily European refugees from Communist countries) and to seek permanent solutions for the problems of other refugees. Several General Assembly resolutions adopted during recent years have authorized the

High Commissioner to use his good offices in the development of assistance for refugees who have not been determined to be within the UNHCR mandate.

The Executive Committee, composed of representatives of 25 governments including the United States, met twice in 1962 to review and give guidance to the High Commissioner's programs and activities. The sum of \$5 million was budgeted for the High Commissioner's regular programs in 1962; the United States contributed \$1.2 million. The High Commissioner, with the approval of the Executive Committee, also continued assistance measures under his good offices function toward alleviation of several special refugee problems.

Overall planning and the operational programs of the UNHCR in 1962 were supported by the United States at the diplomatic level, and at the UNHCR Executive Committee meetings in May and October. With minor exceptions, the Executive Committee displayed a high degree of solidarity in its decisions on objectives and operations.

The High Commissioner continued in 1962 to place emphasis on securing legal and political protection for refugees within his mandate. The United States attaches considerable importance to this primary function of the High Commissioner as a means of promoting the rights of individuals and reducing the overall number of persons in refugee status.

The UNHCR program to effect permanent solutions for the older European refugees under the mandate of the High Commissioner was pursued vigorously in 1962 with the view to eliminating this residual problem as soon as possible. Successful efforts were made to secure a larger degree of financial participation from the more prosperous European countries. As a result of achievements in 1962, the UNHCR was able to plan for a 3-year program starting in 1963 designed to resolve this problem completely.

### Activities in Behalf of Mandate Refugees

The High Commissioner's Camp Clearance Program, authorized in 1958, continued to meet its objectives on schedule. During the year over 40 official camps were cleared of refugees, which reduced the refugee population of official camps from 8,700 to about 4,000. The financing for this program is complete, and the High Commissioner expects to resolve this problem by the end of 1963. The solution of this long-standing program has been a significant success for the United Nations, and the United States has given it full support.

At the beginning of 1962 there were approximately 56,000 nonsettled mandate refugees living outside of camps in Europe, of whom 35,000 required assistance. The UNHCR actively endeavored to assist these

refugees during 1962, through country clearance programs commenced in previous years. Many refugees are severely handicapped, and special efforts are required to find permanent solutions for them. The UNHCR program devoted greater attention than in former years to individual case work in order to meet the needs of each refugee. In 1962 approximately 12,000 needy refugees in Europe were reestablished by the UNHCR.

The High Commissioner also continued his role in assisting refugees of European origin in the Far East. Under this program, the High Commissioner participates with the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration in the resettlement of refugees of European origin who leave mainland China via Hong Kong. The High Commissioner provides for their care and maintenance while in Hong Kong, assists voluntary agencies which participate in relief activities on behalf of the refugees, and makes resettlement grants for certain difficult cases. The flow of these refugees into Hong Kong during 1962 was initially low but increased toward the latter part of the year. It is estimated that 1,500 refugees from the mainland were resettled in overseas countries after transiting Hong Kong. It is believed that there are still some 2,500 of these European refugees in mainland China who will enter Hong Kong in the future; the High Commissioner will continue to assist them on a priority basis.

The High Commissioner continued to intervene as necessary with governmental authorities to protect the interests of individual refugees or categories of refugees, and to promote the full and effective implementation of pertinent national legislation. The chief tool of the UNHCR in this respect is the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. During 1962 five additional countries ratified this instrument, bringing to 36 the number of countries parties to the Convention.

The UNHCR Legal Assistance Program is closely related to political protection efforts and assistance programs. Through special projects, it helps to resolve particular legal difficulties which may confront individual refugees. During 1962 the UNHCR extended such legal assistance to an estimated 10,000 mandate refugees in Europe and Latin America. As a related matter, by the cutoff date of March 1962 more than 40,000 claims had been received from refugees for payments under an agreement between the UNHCR and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Agreement provided indemnification for refugees persecuted for reasons of nationality under Hitler's National Socialist regime. The processing of these claims, requiring lengthy investigations, was continued in 1962 and it is expected that the completion of this program will extend beyond 1963.



## Repatriation of Algerian Refugees

One of the most important landmarks and successful operations of the UNHCR in 1962 was the repatriation to Algeria of some 200,000 refugees who had found asylum for a number of years in Tunisia and Morocco. Operating jointly with the League of Red Cross Societies, the High Commissioner's Office had provided food, shelter and clothing to these refugees while they were in Tunisia and Morocco. More than \$22 million had been expended by the UNHCR and the Red Cross in this relief operation, not including either donations in cash or in kind received through other sources or the expenses of the host governments. When the Evian agreements (signed March 18, 1962, between France and the Algerian Nationalist Liberation Front (FLN) marking the formal end of the Algerian Nationalist armed revolution) made it possible for the refugees to return home, the High Commissioner supervised (with the assistance of the Red Cross) the repatriation operation. This massive movement was carried out successfully in 2½ months starting in May 1962. The High Commissioner and the League of Red Cross Societies issued a special joint appeal for funds to assist in meeting the urgent needs of the refugees during the process of their reintegration within war-devastated Algeria. They succeeded in making nearly \$1 million available to the Red Cross to support the latter's efforts in this connection. The United States had contributed some \$17 million in cash, food and other supplies to the relief of the Algerian refugees before they were repatriated, and made further substantial contributions toward their reintegration in Algeria. This repatriation program brought an end to a problem which for years had presented compelling humanitarian needs, particularly since 85 percent of the refugees were children, mothers and elderly persons.

## UNHCR Good Offices Function

The High Commissioner was active in 1962 in furnishing assistance, through his good offices function, to refugees not within his mandate. Wherever possible, the High Commissioner utilizes amounts of money available from his Emergency Fund or from voluntary contributions to set in motion a coordinated assistance program in which interested governments, international organizations and voluntary agencies participate. The UNHCR thus serves effectively as a catalytic agent to promote collective effort and initiative toward the solution of these problems.

During 1962 the High Commissioner continued to encourage contributions on behalf of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and Tibetan

refugees in Nepal. As a result of his efforts funds were contributed to the Hong Kong Government, and to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Nepal. Similarly, the UNHCR provided modest financial assistance to refugees from Cuba now in Spain, to be administered by voluntary agencies working with the refugees.

In the Congo, the UNHCR during 1961 assisted in the supervision and coordination of a relief and resettlement program for about 150,000 refugees from Angola. With material assistance from the United Nations in the Congo, the League of Red Cross Societies and voluntary agencies, most of these refugees were successfully resettled within the Congo by February 1, 1962. As in his other good offices programs, the High Commissioner stressed measures to place the refugees on a self-supporting basis as soon as possible. These efforts are without prejudice to the voluntary repatriation of the refugees whenever they might choose to return to Angola. The United States contributed major amounts of Public Law 480 agricultural commodities to these refugees, through the United Nations in the Congo.

In response to a request from the Republic of Togo, the UNHCR had commenced in 1961 a relief and local resettlement program for some thousands of refugees of Ewe ethnic origin who had entered Togo from Ghana. The High Commissioner, with the assistance of the League of Red Cross Societies, was able to bring this program virtually to a close during 1962. A total of some 3,500 refugees were successfully resettled in Togo, largely in agricultural pursuits, and Togolese authorities are seeking to resettle the remaining 900 who are in need. The High Commissioner has indicated that his Office remains available to furnish any appropriate further assistance which may be required. U.S. contributions of Public Law 480 food were a major factor in the success of this program.

A new problem of significant dimensions faced the High Commissioner in 1962 in the form of 150,000 refugees who had fled from Rwanda in 1961 into Tanganyika, Uganda, Burundi and the Kivu Province of the Congo. At the request of the asylum governments concerned, the High Commissioner coordinated assistance and resettlement efforts on behalf of these refugees in each of the asylum countries. In Tanganyika and Uganda the governments were able to meet the situation with the technical advice of the UNHCR. In Burundi and the Kivu Province of the Congo, the UNHCR, acting jointly with the League of Red Cross Societies, is carrying out a program for resettling these refugees on land provided by the respective governments, and for the relief of the refugees until they can become self-supporting on these land settlements. The High

Commissioner met the expenses of this operation through contributions from various international sources, including significant contributions in cash from the UNHCR Emergency Fund and other sources of income. This program will continue at least through 1963, on the basis of the firm foundation laid by the UNHCR in 1962. U.S. surplus agricultural commodities have been provided generously in all four of the asylum countries concerned as a necessary measure in preventing starvation or widespread malnutrition.

### **Emergency Fund**

The \$500,000 Emergency Fund established by a General Assembly resolution in 1958 has proved to be an indispensable instrument of the UNHCR by enabling the High Commissioner to respond immediately to urgent situations developing in connection with the duties conferred upon him by his mandate and by the several good offices resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. During 1962 the High Commissioner expended over \$200,000 from this fund for assistance to refugees in emergency situations.

### **Continuation of the Office of the UNHCR**

On December 7, 1962, the 17th General Assembly adopted, with U.S. support, a resolution providing for the continuation of the Office of the UNHCR for a further period of five years from January 1, 1964. The affirmative vote of 99 to 0, with 1 abstention, constituted a strong endorsement by the international community of the continuing need for the Office of the UNHCR in meeting refugee problems.

### **UNHCR Assistance to Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong**

The problem of the one million or more Chinese refugees in Hong Kong, dramatically augmented by the massive exodus from mainland China in May 1962, was the subject of another special resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1962. In a resolution of November 1957 the 12th General Assembly had recognized this problem to be of international concern and had authorized the High Commissioner to lend his good offices to encourage arrangements for contributions for assistance to these refugees. On December 7, 1962, the 17th General Assembly adopted a resolution by a vote of 58 (U.S.) to 22, with 26 abstentions, which, *inter alia*, renewed its request to the High Commissioner to utilize his good offices in assisting these refugees. The UNHCR has in the past transmitted contributions of nearly \$900,000 to assist the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. In addition, the United



States has provided assistance in the amount of \$6 million annually including some \$5 million worth of agricultural commodities under Public Law 480.

### *United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)*

From its earliest activities as a postwar emergency organization, and its later efforts to help mothers and children in the developing countries in limited fields, UNICEF—in association with the Specialized Agencies and the U.N. Secretariat—has recently broadened the basis of its assistance. It now provides aid for programs directed not only toward children's physical development but toward their mental and social development as well. The UNICEF also assists programs in such relatively new areas as education and vocational training.

These new objectives of the organization are described in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly in November 1959. *The Preliminary Survey of the Needs of Children* prepared by Specialized Agencies for the UNICEF Board session in June 1961 reviewed the scope of the problem. The scope of the needs of children was discussed further in the ECOSOC and U.N. General Assembly in relation to balanced economic and social development. In the realization of these additional needs of children and youth, countries are planning broader programs and are calling on UNICEF for assistance to fulfill them. There is no relaxation, however, in UNICEF's traditional efforts in safeguarding birth, fighting and curing disease, and providing an adequate and proper diet.

Reorientation of UNICEF programs has been made more essential by such new pressures and problems as the rapid increase in population, the breakdown of old traditions and cultures, and the ever-increasing migration of people from rural to urban areas.

In addition to this change in program policy adopted in 1961, which increased the scope of programs, a change in financial policy has increased resources immediately available for support of these programs. During UNICEF's earlier years it had seemed prudent to the Board to "full fund" projects—that is, to set aside the entire sum committed to the project for a given time span, i.e., over a 3-5 year period. This principle was followed for all except the malaria eradication programs. As a result, UNICEF built up substantial earmarked reserves and through the years achieved a stable and gradually increasing income. In 1962 the United States successfully pressed for a more rapid use of these resources on sound projects for children and youth in developing countries.

The staff of UNICEF and the recipient countries, freed from earlier program limitations and from financial stringency, produced new proposals that were imaginative and sound. The new policies were executed even more rapidly than had been anticipated: the UNICEF secretariat prepared for Executive Board consideration in 1962 programs requested by governments that involved allocations of \$38.7 million compared to \$25.7 million in 1961. During the year a total of 273 separate projects were approved by the Executive Board. Expenditures for these projects, as well as commitments for previously approved projects, are expected to result in a reduction of reserves in 1963 and 1964.

In the field of education, a new program area, 16 projects were approved in 1962. This totaled \$4.8 million, or 11 percent of the total program commitments. Illustrative of this type of aid is the program for Thailand. Here the Ministry of Education, assisted by ILO, FAO, UNESCO, and WHO, has developed a program for extending primary education gradually from the present 4 years to 7. This will (1) provide for secondary education on a limited scale, (2) improve teacher-training colleges, and (3) improve vocational training facilities for girls. The Thai Government is making a large commitment to this program, which UNICEF will supplement to the extent of \$1,347,000 over the next 7 years. This is an excellent example of cooperation by several international agencies toward a common objective.

In the field of vocational training the program in Tunisia is particularly interesting. UNICEF in conjunction with UNESCO is assisting the Government toward its goal of universal primary education with emphasis on practical subjects. At the same time UNICEF will assist by training out-of-school youth, both dropouts and those who have never been in school, in prevocational training centers. The ILO is associated with a complementary general vocational training program. A number of other countries, recognizing that these educational problems cannot be solved by half-way measures, may be expected to try this type of program for their own unskilled and illiterate youth.

The social service program proposed by the United States in 1958, though remaining small as was anticipated, has taken on more substance. A total of 27 projects was approved in 1962 with allocations of \$1,550,000. The apprehension of some member nations that expansion of UNICEF into new areas such as education, vocational training, and social welfare might curtail the traditional role of UNICEF has not proved justified. The largest share of the expanded resources available continues to go into the traditional programs,

particularly health services, disease control (including malaria eradication), and nutrition programs.

Training maintains a high priority in all fields of aid. In the past 3 years, training of personnel for work with mothers and children absorbed \$16.8 million of UNICEF resources or 19 percent of total long-range aid approved in this period. In 1962 alone, training received allocations of \$10 million, a 27-percent share of the year's long-range aid fund. The more flexible current policy of permitting use of UNICEF funds more generally for stipends, and occasionally for honoraria and tutorial salaries, has been a great boon to training programs. Money for such local costs, which often must come from a very small local budget, is difficult to obtain. Lack of such funds has represented one of the major obstacles to short-term in-service training, a method most developing countries must use to upgrade their personnel rapidly.

Upon the examination of aid allocations by areas, what is striking is the increase in assistance to Africa. UNICEF allocations for long-range aid approved for Africa rose from \$2,073,000 in 1960 to \$5,313,310 in 1962. Also, as a result of this expansion, a regional UNICEF office was established for the African Continent south of the Sahara in Lagos, Nigeria, during 1962.

Since under its terms of reference UNICEF utilizes the technical advice of Specialized Agencies, mechanisms for interchange and co-operation have been developed. In working with WHO and FAO, with which UNICEF has had the longest relationship, joint policy committees have been found to be very useful. During 1962 the UNICEF/WHO Joint Committee on Health Policy met in Geneva for review and evaluation of certain programs, with emphasis on the antituberculosis campaign. The UNICEF/FAO Joint Committee on Nutrition Policy met in Rome and discussed among other matters protein malnutrition among young children. U.S. representatives serve on both these committees.

UNICEF's financial situation continues on a sound basis. In 1962 its income was \$30 million, an increase of \$2 million over 1961. Government contributions from 105 countries, 5 more than last year, equalled \$23.6 million. Nongovernmental sources provided \$6 million, largely from the "Trick-or-Treat" program (a program by which children collect money for UNICEF on Halloween), the sale of greeting cards and calendars, and income from investments. Since contributions to UNICEF are now established in the budgets of most countries, and since a number of countries increase their contributions from time to time, UNICEF's financial future appears sound.



The U.S. contribution in 1962 remained for the third year at \$12 million. This is equal to 44 percent of total government contributions. Included in the 56 percent from other governments are contributions in local currencies for UNICEF administrative costs and government payments for reimbursable procurement for UNICEF-assisted projects. Since 1947 the U.S. contribution, though increasing in dollar amount, has constituted a decreasing share of total government contributions, declining from 72 percent in 1947-50 to 44 percent in 1962.

### *World Health Organization (WHO)*

The World Health Organization (WHO) continued to pursue its objective of "the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health" through its manifold activities of advisory and technical services, fact finding and research. During 1962 six new members were admitted: Algeria, Burundi, Mongolia, Rwanda, Tanganyika, and Western Samoa. Two countries, Jamaica and Uganda, were admitted as associate members, bringing the total membership of the organization to 118. Hungary, which had not participated in the organization since 1949, was represented at the meeting of the Regional Committee for Europe in September 1962.

The regular budget of the organization for 1962 was \$24,706,100. Approximately \$7.5 million additional funds were made available by the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA—see page 195) and approximately \$2.5 million was pledged in voluntary contributions to the special accounts for malaria eradication and for health promotion. The U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) allocated approximately \$25 million, principally in the form of supplies and equipment, in support of WHO programs of particular benefit to mothers and children. The 15th World Health Assembly in May 1962 approved a budget of nearly \$30 million for 1963.

The organization continued its efforts toward the control or eradication of communicable diseases which afflict the populations of major areas throughout the world, and to deal with other serious health problems which impede the economic and social development of many countries. These activities were carried out for the most part in the field and at the request of individual governments. The WHO continued its permanent services for the benefit of all countries with little change.

## Contributions to United Nations Development Decade

At the 15th World Health Assembly the United States drew attention to the important contribution which the WHO might make to the achievement of the objectives of the U.N. Development Decade because of the interdependence of health and progress in economic development. Speaking for the United States, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs Richard Gardner said that:

Action in the field of health must form an integral part of intensified efforts in economic and social development. In the preoccupation with statistics of the gross national product and industrial production, it was sometimes forgotten that the end of development was improvement in the welfare of the individual human being, an aim that could not be realized unless measures were taken to assure minimum health standards. Experience had taught, moreover, that improvement in health standards made a direct and important contribution to increases in productivity.

At the same time, he pointed out "no people could be said to be truly healthy unless progress in medicine was accompanied by progress in the whole economic and social system." He appealed to all concerned to make the Development Decade a reality "by redoubling their efforts in the years ahead, not only in WHO, but in other institutions of the United Nations family."

The Assembly recommended that governments undertake a 10-year public health program, with WHO assistance, if considered desirable. Such programs should have specific objectives and targets, designed to raise the standards of the health of their people, such as the preparation of national plans for the development of public health programs, concentration on the education and training of professional and auxiliary staff; and the devotion of increased national resources to the control of disease and the improvement of health.

In keeping with the aims of the Development Decade, the organization expanded its assistance to newly independent states by developing national health plans, reorganizing national and local health administrations, and training professional medical and auxiliary personnel. A team surveyed the health services and sanitary conditions in the Portuguese-administered territories in Africa and helped their health authorities to draw up plans to improve sanitary conditions. At the request of the governments concerned, the organization sent fact-finding missions to Dahomey, Ghana, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Upper Volta. It assisted Cyprus with a nursing education program, Ethiopia by training auxiliary health personnel and their supervisors, and Burundi by awarding fellowships for training medical assistants as doctors.

## Malaria Eradication

Among the activities of the organization directed toward combating specific health problems, the one involving the campaign designed to eradicate malaria from the world continued to receive top priority. Evidence of the wide interest in this program was the issuance in 1962 of the special malaria eradication postage stamp by more than 90 postal administrations, including the United States. The chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Health Assembly, Dr. Luther Terry, referred to the statement made by President Kennedy on the issuance of the U.S. stamp in which the President said that he was "heartened not only by the progress against this ancient scourge, but also by the growing cooperation of many countries—over one hundred—working through international agencies against the common enemy. In a world still sadly torn, the malaria eradication campaign once more shows that its peoples can work together for mutual benefit. World-wide technical cooperation on this scale is very new in man's history. It holds promise for the future."

In 1962 malaria transmission was successfully interrupted in malarious areas with a population of over 160 million. An additional 6 million people were added over the previous year to the total number of those living in areas from which malaria is considered to have been eradicated. In 1962 the first step was made to transfer to the organization's regular budget the cost of the program, which from 1957 had been paid from the malaria eradication special account made up of voluntary contributions. The United States had contributed approximately 90 percent to this account. By 1964 the cost to WHO of maintaining the program at the 1962 level of about \$6 million will be borne by all members of the organization through their assessed contributions.

## Other Communicable Diseases

In response to requests from individual countries, the organization provided assistance to their programs against tuberculosis, trachoma, and several other communicable diseases. It supported pilot projects on the chemotherapy treatment of tuberculosis in Nigeria and Kenya, and advisory services for other tuberculosis programs to Argentina, Indonesia, Korea, and Ethiopia. It assisted Liberia and Haiti with programs directed against yaws; Burma, India, and Thailand with programs directed against leprosy; Iraq and the Republic of China with programs directed against trachoma. It continued assistance to a bilharziasis pilot project and training center in the United Arab Republic.



Thus during the year, the WHO provided assistance with programs to control tuberculosis in 35 individual countries; smallpox, trachoma, and other virus diseases in 31; leprosy in 16; bilharziasis and other parasitic diseases in 14; and yaws and other treponematoses in 13 countries. The 15th Health Assembly urged those countries in which cases of smallpox and cholera were reported to increase their efforts to control or eradicate these diseases, and invited the Committee on International Quarantine to consider whether quarantine measures now permitted by the International Sanitary Regulations should be strengthened to prevent the international spread of these diseases.

### **Other Field Programs**

The WHO continued its activities in other fields to improve health conditions by providing advisory services for projects and programs concerning maternal and child health, nursing, environmental sanitation, and other specific fields. The WHO assistance in many of these cases was supported and strengthened by the supplies and equipment provided by UNICEF. The WHO served as the designated executive agency for the Special Fund Community Water Supply project in Calcutta. Its personnel conducted training courses for nurses in Bolivia and Ghana; made nutritional surveys in Kenya and Haiti with a view to controlling deficiency diseases; assisted in the establishment of public health laboratories in El Salvador and Iran; and assisted in the development of rural health centers in Pakistan and Paraguay.

Thus during the year, the organization provided assistance for the programs in the field of nursing in 44 countries; environmental sanitation in 41; maternal and child health in 32; and nutrition in 23 countries.

### **Medical Research**

In accordance with the policy adopted by the second World Health Assembly, the role of the WHO with respect to research has been confined generally to the promotion and coordination of research in the health and medical field of public and private national institutions. In 1958 the United States contributed funds for a study to determine whether and in what manner the WHO role in research should be expanded. As a result of this study, the organization in the past few years has placed greater emphasis on research—by establishing international reference centers and by awarding grants for investigations into the unknown factors blocking the control and prevention of particular diseases, and for improving the methods of dealing with other

hazards to the health of peoples. In this latter category, for example, research projects were initiated in immunology, drug evaluation, and microchemical contamination of the environment.

### Publications and Technical Services

The WHO's extensive publications program has become increasingly important in disseminating the latest technical health information throughout the world. The *International Digest of Health Legislation* brought out a timely survey of existing legislation on the distribution of and trade in pharmaceutical preparations, prescribing the measures which countries have adopted in the public interest to control the marketing of drugs and similar substances. WHO also published a cumulative *List of International Non-Proprietary Names for Pharmaceutical Preparations*, which the organization has recommended for the past 10 years. The cumulative list should be of considerable assistance to pharmaceutical manufacturers, national control authorities, as well as doctors and pharmacists. The importance of obtaining recognition of a single nonproprietary name for every such preparation was illustrated last year in the case of thalidomide. Preparations containing this drug were being sold under 40 different proprietary names and, in many instances, without identification of the drug by reference to the widely recognized nonproprietary name, thus complicating the prevention of further use of the drug.

Among other services performed on behalf of all states were the establishment by the WHO of specifications for pharmaceutical preparations for inclusion in *The International Pharmacopoeia* and the setting up, for the guidance of national authorities, of standards for digitalis, insulin, and other substances with important therapeutic and prophylactic properties. Pursuant to a resolution of the 15th Health Assembly, which was supported by the United States, the Director General of the WHO initiated a study on measures which would be appropriate and feasible for the organization to undertake with a view to ascertaining if new drugs are safe for human consumption.

### *International Labor Organization (ILO)*

The International Labor Organization (ILO) engages in programs of technical assistance and related educational activities in the labor field; brings together representatives of governments, employers, and workers to discuss economic and social problems; and publishes spe-

cial studies and reports. Four new members joined the ILO during 1962—Algeria, Jamaica, Rwanda, and Tanganyika—bringing total membership to 105 countries.

### The General Conference

Representatives of U.S. workers and employers, as well as of government, take part in the work of the ILO. The U.S. Government through its participation in the ILO is emphasizing the need to intensify those programs directly related to assisting economic and social development. In addressing the 1962 General Conference, the Chairman of the U.S. delegation, Assistant Secretary of Labor George L-P Weaver, spoke of the importance in technical assistance activities of developing "new and different tools if the interest of workers and other groups in recipient countries are best to be served." This point, and the need to promote further coordination of activities within the context of the U.N. Development Decade concept, also were emphasized in a resolution submitted to the Conference by the United States.

This resolution, unanimously adopted, calls attention to the need to achieve accelerated economic and social development, and to the importance of including adequate provision for manpower training in national program planning. The resolution also calls upon the ILO to keep under review ways by which assistance programs may be intensified in those areas relating most directly to economic development, to prepare a study on the problem of the transition from a nonwage to a wage labor force and on how to assist a worker in adapting to new working conditions, and to evaluate training experience with a view to establishing a framework of effective training methods. Currently, measures are underway to implement this resolution.

U.S. views with respect to the role of the ILO in promoting economic and social development in the Development Decade were set forth by U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, Richard N. Gardner, during debate in the plenary session of the Conference. The U.N. Development Decade was portrayed as a "symbolic framework" in which concerted efforts based on soundly conceived country plans would promote "the improvement of economic and social conditions around the world." The U.S. Representative pointed out that the ILO had a major role to play in assisting countries to take stock of their manpower needs, to assist in the development of needed skills through education and training, and by devising programs to assure that workers shared in the fruits of economic development.



A principal subject discussed in plenary sessions of the 1962 Conference was that of the problems of older people working and retired. The U.S. Representative, George Weaver, referred to the governmental and private attention being given to the social security and employment problems of older workers in the United States and to new programs being proposed in this field.

### Technical Assistance Programs

The ILO program of technical assistance is a major activity of the organization. Assistance is given through experts or teams of experts working directly in a country, by training courses and seminars, by fellowships and worker-trainee awards, by pilot projects and exchange of technical information. ILO programs may be classified under five major headings: manpower organization and vocational training, which includes such subjects as assessment of manpower needs, training in occupational skills, employment services, and apprenticeship training; productivity and management development, a program designed to introduce modern management techniques; co-operation and handicrafts, involving the establishment of cooperatives and assisting in the development of small-scale industries; social security, in which assistance is given in the planning, organization, and operation of social insurance plans; and labor conditions and administration which includes wage policy, development of labor statistics, and advising on labor legislation and its implementation.

Such programs are undertaken at the request of member states, and are financed from the regular budget of the ILO, or by the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. At the end of the year, 358 experts were at work in 71 countries and territories giving assistance in the programs mentioned above. For the most part these programs are carried on in developing countries in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa.

### Human Rights Activities

In addition to the General Conference, there were a number of other major meetings during the year in which the United States participated. In the Governing Body, which meets in three sessions annually, the U.S. Representative is George L-P Weaver. Richard Wagner, Chairman of the Board of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and Rudolph Faupl, International Representative of the International Association of Machinists, are members elected by the employers and workers groups, respectively. One matter of increasing concern to the Governing Body is the problem of inducing effective observance

of ILO standards, particularly in the field of human rights. A Committee on Discrimination has been appointed by the Governing Body to review procedures from the standpoint of achieving greater compliance with adopted standards. This action was supported by the United States, and the U.S. Representative was appointed Chairman of this special Committee.

During 1962 the Governing Body also took action on two cases involving human rights in which complaints had been made by members of the organization against another member concerning violation of an ILO Convention. Such action is governed by article 26 of the Constitution which provides that a complaint may be lodged by a state "if it is not satisfied that any other Member is securing the effective observance of any Convention which both have ratified. . . ." Other provisions of the Constitution provide procedures for this type of action, including the appointment of a commission of inquiry.

One complaint was filed by Ghana against Portugal, alleging violation of the provisions of the Convention regarding abolition of forced labor in the Portuguese African Territories of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea. This complaint was duly investigated by a commission of inquiry, which, after conducting hearings and visiting the African territories concerned, submitted a report on its findings. This included recommendations to bring the law and practice into full conformity with the Convention. The report was accepted by both Ghana and Portugal.

The other case involves a complaint by Portugal against Liberia, also concerning the matter of forced labor. This case is still under consideration.

### **Other International Labor Organization Meetings**

A number of other meetings were held during the year, which brought together representatives of governments, employers, and workers to discuss labor and social conditions and certain outstanding problems. Asian members of the ILO held a Regional Conference at Melbourne, Australia, at which emphasis was placed on the development of human resources in economic development. The Conference adopted a resolution, called the "Melbourne Resolution," which dealt with the need for vocational training, management development, and the role of government in labor-management relations. Mr. George P. Delaney, U.S. Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, in addressing the Conference, spoke of the aims of U.S. policy regarding the economic assistance program. In his address, he recalled the words of the U.S. Secretary of State, stressing the need to "open to the emergent

societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America opportunities for a continuous and concurrent growth of independence, of democracy, of industry and agriculture, of social justice and of the institutions and ideals which express and safeguard the dignity of man."

The United States participated in other meetings of which the following are representative. The Chemical Industries Committee discussed the importance of safe practices in the production process and in the layout of workshops, as well as how to improve in-plant training at all levels. A meeting on manpower and training problems brought together seven international experts to consider the assessment of manpower and training requirements for economic development. The 10th International Conference of Labor Statisticians discussed statistics relating to hours of work, industrial inquiries, and consumer price indices. A special committee on conditions of work in the fishing industry, composed of 30 government, employer, and worker members, met to discuss safety on board fishing vessels, vocational training, accident insurance, and employment injury benefits. An expert committee on social security completed a detailed study of industrial accidents and occupational diseases; old age, invalidism and survivors pensions, and social security planning in developing countries.

#### **International Institute for Labor Studies**

Nineteen hundred and sixty-two saw the opening of the ILO's International Institute for Labor Studies, established by the organization to further a better understanding of labor problems and methods for their solution. The first study course, attended by 30 participants mainly from developing countries, studied such questions as the labor force and its employment; wage policy; social security and welfare; and labor problems of economic growth and development planning.

#### *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*

United States participation in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) during 1962 continued, as in previous years, to take a variety of forms including: participation in meetings of the organization and conferences sponsored by UNESCO, submission of recommendations on future program activities, recruitment of experts, supply of information and statistics, and related activities designed to promote the objectives of the organization. The most important conference during the year was the 12th General Conference, held in Paris, November 7-December 12, 1962.



### Twelfth General Conference

The major purpose of the 12th General Conference was to discuss general policy issues and to reach decisions on program activities for the biennium 1963-64. At the Conference, six new nations were admitted into the organization (Algeria, Burundi, Rwanda, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda) bringing the total membership to 113—an increase of 30 members (mostly African) over the past 3 years.

In his opening speech, Lucius D. Battle, Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs, as principal spokesman for the United States, took issue with the \$40.884 million budget proposed for the 1963-64 biennium by the Director General of UNESCO and the large number of supplementary proposals which would have increased the budget by an additional \$3 million to \$4 million. The U.S. position was based on the conviction that the budget proposed by the Director General exceeded the management capability of the organization and that many of the individual projects either were not essential to the basic tasks of UNESCO or had not been presented in time to permit adequate consideration by the member states. The United States, in a resolution cosponsored by the United Kingdom, proposed a budget level of \$38 million and worked intensively, in consultation with the United Kingdom, for support of this ceiling through representations in the capitals of member states prior to the convening of the Conference and among the various delegations during the Conference. At the same time the United States urged that the UNESCO program be redirected along lines that would contribute significantly to the objectives of the U.N. Development Decade and thus be of maximum assistance to the newly emerging countries which are striving to improve their educational and social development.

In his principal speech the U.S. Representative advanced a 5-point plan designed to permit UNESCO to carry out a program within a \$38 million budget level, without sacrifice of any essential activity. This plan called for a reduction in the number and length of conferences, a review of subsidies to international nongovernmental organizations to determine which could be freed of UNESCO financial support, an earlier-than-planned phasing-out of UNESCO support to institutions and centers organized originally under UNESCO auspices, the shifting of UNESCO activities which are primarily the concern of other U.N. Specialized Agencies, and the elimination of publications, seminars, and projects which lead to polemics rather than scholarly results.

Despite the sentiment of many recipient countries for a higher budget level, the Conference adopted a budget of \$39 million for the next biennium.

The United States also worked intensively to defeat a proposal to impose an additional compulsory assessment on member states amounting to \$31 million for the purpose of preserving the Abu Simbel monuments in Egypt. Instead of agreeing to a compulsory plan, the Conference resolved to continue the Nubian Monuments Campaign on a voluntary basis (see page 282).

A number of political issues were injected into the Conference by the Soviet bloc countries but were resolved to the satisfaction of the United States. At the opening session, the Conference overruled Soviet bloc objections to the seating of the Republic of China by a vote of 57 to 28, with 16 abstentions, and subsequently refused to discuss the issue of the admission of Communist China by a vote of 48 to 33, with 17 abstentions. Similarly a move to seat as observers five Communist-front organizations was rejected by a vote of 40 to 25, with 11 abstentions. As in previous years, the Soviet bloc countries introduced a variety of propaganda themes into the debates and made repeated attempts to distort the program for propaganda purposes but were generally unsuccessful in these efforts.

The General Conference elected René Maheu of France as the Director General of UNESCO by a vote of 89 to 10, with 10 abstentions. The United States played an active role in the election of members to the Executive Board, which was increased from 24 to 30 members.

## Education

The UNESCO's basic role in education is to help member states to strengthen their educational systems, and hence to enhance the contribution of education to economic and social development. The UNESCO performs this role by organizing conferences in which the needs of member states are explored and goals determined; by supplying the expert services and advice in such fields as educational planning and financing; by granting fellowships; by rendering clearinghouse information services; and, to a limited extent, by the provision of direct financial and material assistance.

In 1962 the United States participated in four regional conferences at which major plans were formulated affecting the future of education across three continents. These meetings were of great significance to the United States because they helped to clarify priorities among the needs of developing countries, thus providing guid-

ance for the planning of external assistance to be given to these countries, whether through our own bilateral programs or through the Specialized Agencies. Each conference acknowledged the interdependence of education with economic and social development, a principle repeatedly emphasized by the United States and reflected in UNESCO's decision to establish in Paris, in 1963, an International Institute for Educational Planning.

The first of the major regional meetings in 1962 was the Conference on Education and Economic and Social Development in Latin America, held in Santiago, Chile, March 19-25. This Conference was highly successful in setting basic goals for the development of education throughout Latin America.

The second was the Meeting of Ministers of Education from African countries, held in Paris March 26-30. This Conference, which was a followup of one held the previous year in Addis Ababa and attended by ministers of education from 34 countries, set forth the needs of individual African countries in the field of education, and the goals which must be met to satisfy those needs.

The third was the Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asia, which took place in Tokyo April 2-11, and in which the ministers examined overall educational planning in Asia and extended the 1960 Karachi Plan for primary education to embrace the concept of overall educational planning in the context of economic and social development.

The fourth of these meetings was the African Ministers of Education Conference held in Tananarive September 3-12, which advanced further the work of the two earlier meetings held in Paris and in Addis Ababa. The Conference adopted a plan to strengthen and develop 32 universities in middle Africa, in view of a foreseen expansion of students in 31 African countries from the current figure of 31,000 to 274,000 by 1980.

Besides the regional events just described, several conferences in which the United States made notable contributions also merit special mention. The 25th International Conference on Public Education, sponsored jointly by the UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education, brought together 90 national delegations, including that of the United States. The meeting adopted major recommendations on educational planning and in-service training of teachers. In cooperation with the UNESCO, the U.K. National Commission for UNESCO held an International Educational Building Conference in London, at which the United States made an important contribution to the development of the UNESCO's work in this field. A Meeting of Experts convened by the UNESCO, in which the United



States participated, produced a recommendation on vocational and technical education, subsequently approved by the UNESCO's 12th General Conference.

One new venture of special significance for mass education in the future was a workshop for the development of reading materials for new literates, held in Nairobi. It is significant that the UNESCO chose a U.S. national to direct this pioneer undertaking, the fruits of which were already becoming apparent by the end of the year in the educational activities of a number of the 14 countries which sent representatives.

During 1962 the U.S. Office of Education prepared for UNESCO 27 major reports on current developments in U.S. education.

### Mass Communications

The UNESCO's activities in the broad field of mass communications are of special importance in view of the close relationship between development of strong and free information media and social and economic development.

As part of the U.N. Development Decade, the ECOSOC approved in July a broad program to develop mass media communication in underdeveloped countries based on regional surveys by UNESCO in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. In this connection UNESCO sponsored a Conference in Paris in February 1962, concerned with the development of information media in Africa. It was attended by a 12-member U.S. delegation, headed by the President of the Africa-American Institute, Waldemar A. Nielsen, which consisted of experts in radio and television broadcasting, journalism, and other media. The Conference pointed up the tremendous needs of African information media and suggested ways in which American public and private institutions could assist in meeting those needs.

In 1962 the United States lent its wholehearted support to the International Center for Higher Studies in Journalism in Quito, Ecuador. The Center was founded by the UNESCO and is also supported by the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Ford Foundation. As in the past, U.S. Department of State grants permitted several prominent American journalists to serve on the faculty of the Center.

A third area of the UNESCO interest is the utilization of mass communications techniques in education. The tremendous importance to the underdeveloped areas of instructive radio and television programs, including programmed instruction and other educational techniques, was explored at a Conference on New Techniques in Education, held at the UNESCO in April 1962. Because of U.S.

pioneering in research and development in this field, the American delegation of educators and communication experts was able to make a significant contribution to this Conference.

### Natural Sciences

The UNESCO is engaged in a number of scientific programs, principally as a catalyst for considerably larger national programs. In the case of the oceanographic program of the UNESCO, a relatively small sum—less than \$100,000—from the UNESCO's budget has acted as a catalyst for national oceanographic research projects costing over \$10 million. The Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, established within the UNESCO in 1961 for the purpose of coordinating these national efforts, has made steady progress in intergovernmental scientific cooperation in this field. American oceanographers have participated actively in the work of the Commission, notably in the International Indian Ocean Expedition in which they have studied the ocean basin, the ocean waters, the plants and animals which live therein, and the interaction between the ocean and the atmosphere. The Commission, at its September 1962 meeting, made plans for new cooperative international expeditions in the tropical Atlantic with a view to determining its potential fishery resources, among other purposes. Dr. Vernon Brock, director of the biological laboratory of the U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, will act as the coordinator of this latest endeavor. A total of 50 ships from 26 countries will have engaged in these two expeditions; the oceans are too big for any one nation to do all the research needed.

American experts from the U.S. Geological Survey have been instrumental in initiating arrangements for a long-term research program in hydrology, the science of water. Their concern stems from a conviction that a scientific approach to water problems is essential to insure that mankind obtains more of the practical benefits derived from a more rational use of water resources. A U.S. expert served as adviser to the UNESCO Secretariat in formulating suggestions for a program in this field. The UNESCO's 12th General Conference approved a plan to call an intergovernmental meeting in 1964 to adopt an international program in scientific hydrology. At the same time, UNESCO will offer fellowships and organize training courses beginning next year so that a wide range of countries will be able to participate in this program once it is adopted.

The third of a series of regional seismological survey missions under UNESCO sponsorship took place from March to May 1962 as

part of UNESCO's efforts to reduce the toll of earthquakes. American scientists took an active part in this survey conducted in the Mediterranean and the Middle East area. A report to the ECOSOC on this and two previous missions to Latin America and Southeast Asia made recommendations for coordinated international action in the field of seismology research and earthquake engineering.

Collaboration between the UNESCO and the international non-governmental scientific organizations was further strengthened in 1962. American scientists have derived great benefit from scientific meetings of the constituent bodies of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) which were made possible with financial support of UNESCO. For example, a conference, convened under the auspices of ICSU and the International Committee for Geophysics, met at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris to draw up the scientific program and arrangements for the International Quiet Sun Year, 1964-65 (a time set aside for an international cooperation program for observation of the sun during a period of minimum solar activity). At that time, scientific activities supplementing those of the International Geophysical Year will be carried out.

The UNESCO's continued interest in strengthening the teaching of the natural sciences included a regional seminar in 1962 on basic science teaching in tropical African universities. UNESCO has also helped establish national research councils at the request of member states and continued its valuable work in improving scientific documentation.

### **Social Sciences**

In the field of the Social Sciences, the United States has been particularly interested in UNESCO studies. These pertain to the understanding of problems of developing countries, such as those dealing with social and technological change, as well as in the establishment of nongovernmental organizations for the study and improvement of teaching and research methods in the social sciences, and their application to problems of social and economic development.

UNESCO, with U.S. support, continued its work toward improvement of social science documentation, including statistics in the fields of education, mass communications, and natural sciences.

### **Cultural Activities**

Although the emphasis in UNESCO has shifted to educational needs and scientific cooperation, the organization also engages in comprehensive intercultural studies and their promotion. Periodicals, books,



translations, music anthologies, and art reproductions give a most valuable picture of aspects of the world's cultural heritage. The UNESCO in 1962, for example, started a new series of low cost art books in paperbacks which were widely publicized in the United States. Also noteworthy is UNESCO's program of exchanges of artists and traveling exhibits, such as one on Persian art which toured the United States in 1962.

The United States made a significant contribution to one of the most important cultural projects in which UNESCO was engaged in 1962—the Campaign To Save the Monuments of Nubia endangered by flooding as a result of the construction of the Aswan High Dam. With the funds authorized by the Congress in 1961, a grant of the Egyptian pound equivalent of \$2.5 million was made to UNESCO in 1962 as the U.S. contribution toward the preservation of the so-called “lesser” temples in the United Arab Republic and the Sudan. Plans are underway to utilize the U.S. contribution for the removal of four monuments in the United Arab Republic and one in the Sudan. Grants were awarded to nine U.S. universities and museums to enable them to conduct archeological and related research in the area to be flooded. Eight U.S. expeditions are presently engaged in their first season of work in the area.

In its effort to encourage and assist the development of libraries and museums in the developing countries, UNESCO sponsored a series of seminars in which U.S. citizens played an important role. U.S. specialists, for example, served as directors of the Regional Seminar on the Development of Public Libraries in Africa, in Enugu, Nigeria, and the Latin-American Seminar on the Museum as a Cultural Center in the Development of the Community, in Mexico City. The seminar at Enugu, attended by experts of 28 countries, highlighted the need for libraries, urging that more than \$80 million be spent between now and 1970 to develop public libraries in Africa. U.S. citizens also participated in a Regional Seminar on the Development of University Libraries in Latin America and a Regional Seminar on Bibliography, Documentation and Exchange of Publications in Arab-Speaking States.

Wishing to encourage adherence to the Universal Copyright Convention as a means of obtaining adequate protection abroad for works of U.S. authors, the United States continued to maintain an active interest in the copyright activities of the UNESCO. A U.S. citizen carried out a 3-month expert mission for the UNESCO in the Near East and South Asia, to advise governments and publishers on copyright problems and the development of effective copyright laws.

## U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

The U.S. National Commission for the UNESCO was created by Congress in 1946 to help the United States carry out its responsibilities with respect to the UNESCO.

A primary function of the Commission is to inform the American public of the work of the UNESCO and stimulate activities on the part of voluntary organizations to further U.S. participation in its work. A partial report for 1962 shows that 34 such organizations asked the Commission for assistance in planning programs. In addition to its continuing advisory functions, another important role of the Commission is to help create in the United States a better understanding and appreciation of foreign cultures and to organize activities in support of UNESCO objectives.

Among its activities in this field in 1962, the Commission assisted in planning regional and local followup conferences to its national conference held in Boston in October 1961 on the theme "Africa and the United States: Images and Realities."

The Commission also initiated in October 1962 the first of a series of seminars in support of the activities of the UNESCO. This seminar, organized by Dr. Luther Evans, former Director General of the UNESCO, brought together 30 experts from universities, foundations, and the U.S. Government for a concentrated study on the implication for Africa of new educational techniques in light of needs stated at the Addis Ababa Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa held May 15-25, 1961.

The Commission assisted in bringing to the United States and in sending on a national tour the King Tutankhamon treasures. This was the first time these treasures were exhibited outside the United Arab Republic. The Commission also assisted Indiana University in circulating an exhibition of 30 paintings by Senake Senanayake, a gifted young artist from Ceylon.

The Commission collaborated in the International Poster Contest sponsored by the UNESCO "for designs which make a striking appeal on behalf of international understanding and cooperation" by organizing a nationwide contest which resulted in 530 entries from 34 states and the District of Columbia. It also sponsored U.S. participation in the World Exhibit of Photographic Works by secondary school pupils sponsored by the Japanese National Commission for the UNESCO and in the Second Exhibition of Art Education of the

World in Seoul, Korea. The Commission cosponsored with the Italian National Commission for the UNESCO the publication of the Bernard Berenson art collection.

In order to inform the general public on UNESCO activities and U.S. participation, the Commission publishes a monthly newsletter. Other pertinent publications in 1962 included *UNESCO in the News*, an account of UNESCO activities as seen in the American press, and *Questions and Answers about UNESCO*, a pamphlet on the role of the UNESCO. Public interest in the UNESCO was reflected in the more than 10,000 requests for information and documents from the public on UNESCO activities and Human Rights Week, which the Commission helps promote in fulfillment of UNESCO's mandate to publicize the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These observances were marked by proclamations by the President, several State Governors, and a special 1-minute television message by the Attorney General.

## SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Since science and technology are making an increasingly significant impact on the political, economic, and social development of nations, the United Nations and its agencies are giving increasing attention to the application of science and technology to member states—in both developed and less developed areas. Careful attention is being given to the role of science and technology in the planning and implementation of the U.N. Development Decade.

Though scientific cooperation and development are reflected in many facets of U.N. activity, the focus of this section of the report is specifically on the scientific interests of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the General Assembly; and the activities of the Scientific Advisory Committee, the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). Other aspects of scientific cooperation and development are reviewed in the sections concerning outer space (see page 34), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO—See page 280), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU—see page 240), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO—see page 233), and the World Health Organization (WHO—see page 270).



### *General Scientific Questions*

Consideration of matters raised under the agenda item, "Questions Relating to Science and Technology," led to the unanimous adoption of four resolutions by the ECOSOC during its 34th session in Geneva, July 3–August 3.

At its 32d session, held in Geneva in July 1961, ECOSOC had invited the Specialized Agencies and IAEA to comment on a survey entitled "Main Trends of Inquiry in the Field of Natural Sciences, the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge and the Application of Such Knowledge for Peaceful Ends." This survey had been prepared by UNESCO. The Specialized Agencies were asked to give "their proposals, along with an order of priorities on matters within their competence, on how best to implement the recommendations [in the survey] which come within their terms of reference." Study of the replies received led to the introduction at the 34th session of ECOSOC, by Australia, France, and Italy, of a draft resolution which implicitly tended to establish certain priorities in scientific research. At the request of the United States, supported by representatives of certain of the Specialized Agencies, the draft was revised to de-emphasize the idea of priorities. The resolution, as adopted, called for study by the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the organizations concerned, of the measures proposed for implementation of the survey's recommendation that national and international action be taken to safeguard and improve the natural environments (earth, atmosphere, water, and soil) essential to human life and well-being. The resolution also contained a request that the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC—a U.N. committee consisting of representatives of the United Nations and of U.N. agencies) submit to the Council its comments on the effect which problems resulting from the evolution of science and technology, as related to economic and social progress, were having on the administrative structures of the various agencies of the U.N. system.

A second resolution dealt with "Coordination of the Results of Scientific Research." The ECOSOC had before it a report prepared by UNESCO on the organization and functioning of scientific abstracting services. In the resolution as adopted, ECOSOC deferred consideration of the report to its 36th session, but recommended that, in the interval, the report be brought to the attention of governments participating in the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas (UNCAST—see page 287).

A third resolution, entitled "International Cooperation in the Field of Seismological Research," related to a report which UNESCO had prepared on that subject. Attention was drawn to the recommendations in the report concerning the improvement of seismological observations, the analysis of seismological data, seismic and seismotectonic mapping codes, and regulations for the design of earthquake-resistant structures, tsunami (sea wave) warning systems, and relief measures. The U.N. Secretary-General, UNESCO, WMO, and other agencies concerned, were requested to continue actively to promote international cooperation in the study of the origin and mechanism of earthquakes and to improve the protective measures which can be taken, as well as the remedial measures designed to repair damage caused by them.

The fourth resolution, introduced by the United States with the support of the United Kingdom, related to "International Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Outer space" (see page 42). The one substantive clause in this resolution contained a request that WMO and the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), in cooperation with the UNESCO and the International Council of Scientific Unions (a nongovernmental organization), "take steps to develop and plan such educational and training programs on space meteorological and telecommunication techniques as may be necessary."

The ECOSOC consideration of matters submitted under the agenda item "Natural Resources" led to the unanimous adoption of a resolution on "New Sources of Energy (Solar Energy—Wind Power—Geothermal Energy)." Note was taken that demands on conventional sources of energy are increasing very rapidly, while in the majority of developing countries there is an acute scarcity of energy in a readily usable form. Attention was called to conclusions derived from the proceedings of the U.N. Conference on New Sources of Energy (which had been held in Rome in August 1961) to the effect that scientific and technological research, including fundamental research, was essential to increasing the use and yield of new sources of energy. The U.N. Secretary-General, accordingly, was invited "to examine, with special reference to the provision of energy for the developing countries, methods of co-ordinating and facilitating research into new sources of energy and its applications, particularly solar energy, wind power and geothermal energy."

The need for action to improve the protective measures against earthquakes, the subject of one of the ECOSOC resolutions discussed above, was demonstrated by the disastrous earthquake which struck Iran on September 1. Some 20,000 persons were killed or injured. Additional tens of thousands were left homeless. The 17th General

Assembly on October 5 adopted a resolution in which it noted with deep concern the tragedy that had overtaken Iran; noted the assistance given to Iran by many countries (which had included the United States) and organizations; requested agencies within the U.N. system to deal sympathetically with any proposals for aiding Iran; directed attention to the ECOSOC resolution described above; and stressed the need for active international cooperation in the study of the origin and mechanism of earthquakes of the type which had devastated north-western Iran, and in the improvement of the protective measures which can be taken against earthquakes.

### *Specific Scientific Questions*

#### **United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas (UNCAST)**

The ECOSOC, in a resolution of August 3, 1961, had provided that a United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas (UNCAST) should be organized under the auspices of the United Nations, in consultation with the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee (UNSAC), and in cooperation with IAEA and the U.N. Specialized Agencies concerned (FAO, ILO, ITU, UNESCO, UPU, WHO and WMO).

Preparatory work on the Conference was carried forward during 1962 by a secretariat organized by the United Nations. Through the medium of a Scientific Advisory Panel, the Scientific Advisory Committee provided guidelines for, and reviewed, the work of the conference secretariat on such diverse matters as: the acceptance of papers contributed for possible presentation at the conference; the organization of plenary, general, and specialized sessions; the selection of conference officers; the preparation of the conference program; the exhibit of visual materials; and the publication of conference proceedings. On October 1 and 2 the Scientific Advisory Committee reviewed the work of the Panel and confirmed its recommendations. The U.S. Representative on the Scientific Advisory Panel was Dr. Walsh McDermott, Chairman of the Department of Public Health, Cornell University Medical College.

The purpose of the UNCAST is to explore recent advances in the application of science and technology which will benefit the less developed areas, to provide an opportunity for an assessment of the impact of such applications on the processes of economic and social development; to reveal opportunities for research directed toward producing new scientific and technological advances of special value



to less developed areas; and to stimulate and promote scientific and technological development in the less developed areas. It was decided that, to achieve this purpose, the Conference should focus its attention on the practical application of advances in science and technology, that is, there should be an avoidance of purely academic dissertations and there should be concentration on an exchange of ideas and experience as to how science and technology can best serve the needs of less developed countries. It was further decided that the Conference, which is to meet in Geneva, should not have authority to make recommendations to governments or to take decisions regarding policy, although the record of its proceedings will undoubtedly reflect any significant weight of opinion expressed in Conference discussions.

Professor Maneklal Sankalchand Thacker, Director General of India's Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and Secretary to the Indian Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, was named President of the Conference. Professor Carlos Chagas, Director of the Brazilian Institute of Biophysics, was appointed Secretary General of the Conference. It was further decided that the Secretary General should be assisted with the scientific aspects of the work by: a Deputy Secretary General, Georges R. Laclavere, Chief of the Cartographic Division of the French Geographical Institute; and a scientific secretariat drawn from a wide range of countries.

February 4-20, 1963, was fixed as the time for the Conference, and an agenda was fixed to make maximum use of that time. Plenary sessions are to be held only on the opening and closing days. Otherwise, the work of the Conference is to be carried forward in two series of sessions; one general and the other specialized. They are to focus upon 12 broad topics: natural resources; human resources; agriculture; industrial development; transport; health and nutrition; social problems of development and urbanization; organization, planning, and programing for economic development; organization and planning of scientific and technological policies; international cooperation and problems of transfer and adaption; training of scientific and technical personnel; and communications. The general sessions will be intended to provide an introduction to the corresponding specialized sessions, to introduce a broad cross section of the subjects on the agenda, and to permit discussion by participants from developing countries of aspects of particular interest to them, thus setting the background against which specific subjects will be examined in the specialized sessions.

On October 26, 1962, the Conference secretariat announced that, with the receipt of some 1,600 scientific and technical papers from about 100 countries and the Specialized Agencies, its work on prepara-

tions for the Conference was entering the final stage. It was stated, on the basis of the character of the papers received, that the expected 2,000 participants in the Conference would have a unique opportunity to consider how the progress of the less developed countries can be rapidly accelerated through the application to their national planning of the latest scientific and technological methods.

Of the papers accepted for the conference, 138 were submitted by the United States.

### Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

The General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) at its 6th regular session at Vienna in September 1962 concluded that in view of the benefits derived from two International Conferences on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held at Geneva in 1955 and 1958, it was desirable to hold a further conference.

In the course of the General Assembly debate on November 29 on this subject, there was unanimous endorsement of IAEA's recommendation on the desirability of holding a Third International Conference. In addition, most representatives stressed the need for having in 1964 a Conference which would be less extensive in scope and less costly than the conferences held in 1955 and 1958. On this last score, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Philip M. Klutznick, suggested certain practical limitations and restraints which might be considered by the Secretary-General with a view to making the Conference more modest yet no less useful than the earlier conferences. He suggested, for example, that specific topics (e.g., operating experience with nuclear powerplants, the status of novel types of thermal nuclear power reactors, the status of development of breeder reactors, nuclear fuel development) should be selected for consideration in detail by technical committees; other relevant topics should be considered on the basis of a small number of general review papers discussed at plenary meetings; the number of papers accepted for presentation might be limited to about 500; the combined number of plenary and committee meetings might be limited to about 25; papers accepted by the Conference should be provided by the contributors at their own expense; and every possibility should be explored to insure the most economical publication of the proceedings of the Conference.

On November 28, prior to the debate, 12 countries (Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Hungary, India, Japan, Pakistan, Poland, U.S.S.R., the U.S., and Yugoslavia) had introduced a draft resolution at the General Assembly. The operative paragraphs of that resolu-

tion declared the continued interest of the Assembly in promoting the peaceful application of atomic energy, declared that a Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy would be advantageous in achieving these objectives and should accordingly be convened under the aegis of the United Nations, and requested the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee, in cooperation with the IAEA, and in consultation with the Specialized Agencies to: (1) prepare plans and proceed with arrangements for a third conference in Geneva in the fall of 1964, (2) provide for a conference considerably more limited in size and cost than those of 1955 and 1958, and (3) report to the General Assembly at its 18th session.

Immediately after the debate, the General Assembly adopted unanimously the 12-power resolution with the addition of a fourth operative paragraph, proposed by Australia, which invited members of the United Nations, of the Specialized Agencies, or of the IAEA, to participate in the Conference.

### *Other Scientific Developments in U.N. Bodies*

#### **United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)**

The U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) held its 11th session at New York in March 1962. At this session the Committee adopted its second comprehensive report. The report was designed to review the knowledge available as of January 1962 on the effects of radiation on man and his environment and to emphasize the future investigations that were most urgently needed. Within the compass of 442 pages, the Committee presented the background information in physics, biology, and fundamental radio-biology considered essential to the understanding of its work; described the effects of irradiation on the individual (somatic effects) and on the progeny of irradiated individuals (hereditary effects); considered the sources of radiation, both natural and man-made; estimated the risks from various types of radiation; and, in order to establish the context within which the Committee had worked and arrived at its conclusions, presented or made reference to technical studies of aspects of the problems with which the Committee had been concerned.

The Committee also reviewed a draft plan which had been prepared by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), in consultation with UNSCEAR and IAEA, for measuring and reporting on at-



mospheric radioactivity in order to give effect to the request for such a plan in a 16th General Assembly resolution of October 27, 1961. In a general statement addressed to the WMO, the Committee drew attention to certain questions raised concerning various scientific and technical aspects of the draft plan and invited the WMO to consult further with it on any new draft plans it formulated.

Dr. D. J. Beninson of Argentina and Dr. M. E. A. El Kharadly of the United Arab Republic were elected Chairman and Vice Chairman, respectively, of the Committee for its 12th and 13th sessions. The 12th session was scheduled to convene at Geneva, Switzerland, in January 1963.

General Assembly consideration of the Committee's second comprehensive report, as well as of the WMO draft plan, opened in the Assembly's Special Political Committee on November 2, 1962. The Special Political Committee had before it a draft resolution sponsored by 43 powers: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, Central African Republic, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Gabon, Ghana, Iran, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Japan, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Malaya, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, the United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, and Uruguay.

The 43-power resolution consisted of two parts. Part I called particular attention to the Scientific Committee's finding that "the exposure of mankind to radiation from increasing numbers of artificial sources, including the worldwide contamination of the environment with short and long-lived radionuclides from weapon tests, calls for the closest attention, particularly because the effects of any increase in radiation exposure may not be fully manifested for several decades in the case of somatic disease, and for many generations in the case of genetic damage"; and requested the Scientific Committee to continue its assessment of radiation risks, as well as its review of those studies and further examinations that should be undertaken in the interest of increasing man's knowledge of the effects of radiation. Pursuant to a subsequent suggestion made by Brazil as modified by Canada, Part I recommended that all member states prepare and carry out, according to their means, large-scale information programs on the effects of atomic radiation.

Part II of the 43-power resolution invited WMO to complete its consultations with the Scientific Committee on its draft plan and to implement that plan, if found feasible, at the earliest possible date.

All member states were urged to cooperate and to take appropriate action to enable the WMO to carry out its task.

Thirty-five delegations participated in the Special Political Committee's debate on the report of the Scientific Committee. All expressed concern over the effects of nuclear weapon tests. There was unanimous support for the conclusions in the Scientific Committee's report, and many praised its objectivity. The Soviet Representative complained, however, that, while Soviet scientists had performed major work in fields of concern to the Committee and while Soviet scientists had contributed 83 of the 537 papers submitted by all countries for the use of the Committee, the Committee was not making full use either of Soviet scientists or their papers. Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Under Secretary of the United Nations for Special Political Affairs, subsequently assured the Special Political Committee that there had been no discrimination against qualified candidates from any country in the selection of personnel to serve the Scientific Committee.

Speaking in support of the 43-power resolution, U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, pointed out that the Scientific Committee had produced not only a report that was truly scientific and nonpolitical but also one which was even more remarkable in that, despite the number of scientists and scientific disciplines involved in its preparation and the complexity and seriousness of the issues, it had been adopted unanimously. He noted that the United States had prepared the major part of the documentation available and had been the largest single contributor of information to the Scientific Committee. He pledged continued U.S. cooperation and assistance in the future. The U.S. Representative also expressed gratification over the manner in which the WMO had consulted with the Scientific Committee and the IAEA in preparing its draft plan and the hope that such consultations would continue until an effective program had been developed for the worldwide measurement of radioactive fallout.

On November 9 the Special Political Committee proceeded to vote on the 43-power resolution, with the modified Brazilian amendment as operative paragraph 7 of Part I. Part I was adopted unanimously. Part II was adopted by a vote of 76 (U.S.) to 8, with 2 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was then adopted by a rollcall vote of 79 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Ukrainian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R.) abstentions.

The resolution was put to a vote in the General Assembly on November 20. It was adopted by a vote of 85 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions.

*International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)*

The sixth regular session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was held in Vienna September 18-26, 1962. It was described by several of the participants as the shortest, least contentious in terms of political debate, and most conscientious in terms of concentration on the substantive matters at hand in the history of that body.

A regular program and budget for 1963 of \$7,337,500, as compared to \$6,161,000 for 1962, recommended by the IAEA Board of Governors, was approved, and the Board of Governors was requested to study and report to the General Conference's next session on suggestions for changes in the financing of the IAEA operational activities. In addition an operational program based on voluntary contributions was executed in 1962 at a level of approximately \$1.5 million and an additional \$1 million was made available by the Expanded Technical Assistance Program (EPTA). A proposal by South Africa for biennial programing was referred both to the Board and the Director General for implementation as soon as possible after such further study as might be required.

The view was expressed that it would be desirable for the United Nations to sponsor the holding of a Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in 1964 (see page 289), and the Director General was requested to cooperate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in organizing that Conference. Note was taken of a joint report by the Board of Governors and the Director General concerning the IAEA's program in nuclear power, and the Board and the Director General were urged both to continue to provide assistance to member states in respect to nuclear power development and to explore ways and means of establishing closer cooperation between the IAEA, the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, and the World Power Conference (a nongovernmental organization) in matters regarding power in general and the economics of power in particular.

Discussion of a joint interim report by the Board and the Director General on the subject led to a request that they proceed with the formulation, for possible submission to the General Conference in 1963, of a long-term program for the IAEA. The Board and Director General were asked to study ways and means of establishing, under IAEA auspices, an international center for research in theoretical physics. The Director General was requested to give full cooperation to the U.N. Secretary-General in the performance of the task of keeping under review the basic aspects of economic and social consequences of disarmament (see page 29).



*World Meteorological Organization (WMO)*

Major attention was given by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) during 1962 to the field of meteorological satellites. In response to a U.N. General Assembly resolution on outer space, WMO submitted its first report on "Advancement of Atmospheric Sciences and their Application in the Light of Developments in Outer Space" to the ECOSOC, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (see pages 42, 286), and the General Assembly. The report was based on a draft prepared in cooperation with the WMO secretariat, by the late Dr. Harry Wexler, then Director of Meteorological Research of the U.S. Weather Bureau, and Dr. V. A. Bugaev of the Soviet Central Weather Forecasting Institute.

The WMO report recommended (1) the development of an internationally coordinated plan for meteorological satellites; (2) the establishment of a World Weather Watch; (3) the augmentation of the present network of conventional meteorological observations in areas where they are sparse or nonexistent; (4) the improvement of telecommunications networks for the exchange of both satellite information and conventional meteorological observations; and (5) the establishment of a WMO Advisory Committee.

The recommendations of this report will be reviewed further at the WMO Fourth Congress, to meet in Geneva April 1-27, 1963.

In preparation for the WMO Fourth Congress, the Executive Committee established a working group to advise the WMO on the research aspects of meteorological satellites. Seven members of the group were designated by the Executive Committee, five by the International Council of Scientific Unions, and one by UNESCO. At its first meeting in November, this working group listed a number of research problems calling for further study and recommended that (1) increased attention be given by member states to meeting training and educational needs and that (2) the WMO secretariat be strengthened to advance activities relating to research, training, and education.

A third session of the WMO panel of experts on meteorological satellites was convened to continue its consideration of satellite operations and experiments and the interpretation and use of data from satellites. The Executive Committee approved a recommendation of this panel that a bibliography on meteorological applications of satellites should be maintained. The WMO Secretary General was asked to make arrangements for the compilation and distribution of such a bibliography.

The Executive Committee approved an annual budget for the year 1963 which, with the supplemental budget subsequently approved, resulted in an assessment budget of \$894,356 for that year. The Committee reviewed the proposal of the WMO Secretary General for a program and budget of \$5,315,929 for the 4 years 1964-67 and decided to submit this proposal to the consideration of the Fourth Congress to convene on April 1, 1963. The Committee commended the Secretary General's proposal and observed that it in general reflected the views of the Committee, particularly as regards the anticipated increase in future activity of the WMO and the need for a corresponding increase in the budget, so as to enable the organization to fulfill its role as laid down in the WMO Convention. At the same time, the Committee suggested some subsidiary changes that might be considered by the Congress in its review of the Secretary General's proposal.

Two new panels of experts were established by the Executive Committee. One of these is to examine working arrangements between the World Meteorological Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) in the light of developments since 1953. The other new panel, composed of experts designated by members of the WMO who are operating meteorological programs in the Antarctic, will help to further cooperation in questions of meteorology in the Antarctic.

The Commission for Instruments and Methods of Observations meeting in New Delhi in January established a program for the next 4 years that includes international instrument calibration, survey of instrument development and manufacture, and an improvement of its publication giving instrument and observational guidelines.

The Commission for Synoptic Meteorology meeting in Washington in March and April 1962 considered problems relating to numerical weather forecasting, long-range forecasting, worldwide observational networks, advances in the use of data from meteorological satellites and international communications. The Commission for Agricultural Meteorology at its meeting in Toronto in July took steps to standardize training of personnel in agricultural meteorology and initiated a program to study soil moisture measurement, weather and plant pathology, and agricultural meteorology in arid and semiarid areas.

Two Regional Associations, one for the Southwest Pacific and the other for Asia, met during the year. The United States attended the Southwest Pacific meeting as an active participant and the Asia meeting as an observer. These meetings discussed the regional aspects of

such problems as communications, observational networks, and warnings for aviation.

The WMO continued its assistance to the Republic of the Congo (Léopoldville) by providing a team of more than 30 experts to operate essential meteorological services.

## PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

Perhaps the most significant achievement in the field of human rights in 1962 was the completion of the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age of Marriage and Registration of Marriages, which was adopted at the 17th General Assembly, November 7, by a vote of 80 to 0, with 8 abstentions. The United States voted for the Convention, and Mrs. Gladys Tillett signed it on behalf of the United States, December 10, with a statement of understanding (see page 307).

Work to advance human rights continued along the lines of previous years, through studies of specific rights and problems, provision of regional seminars and other advisory services, recommendations to member states, and evaluations of progress. Fellowships in human rights were granted for the first time in 1962, with some 19 awards to applicants from 16 countries. Human rights questions were considered also in U.N. commissions and the Specialized Agencies in relation to their work.

### *Tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt*

The importance of human rights in the development of the United Nations was reflected in universal sorrow at the death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, November 7. The General Assembly paid tribute to her in a special meeting the following day. Members of delegations from all parts of the world mourned her loss and expressed gratitude for her years of leadership.

Mrs. Roosevelt had served on U.S. delegations to the General Assembly from its first session in 1946 through the seventh session in 1952, and again at the second part of the 15th session in 1961. During this same period she was the U.S. Representative in the Human Rights Commission, and was its chairman from 1946 until after the completion of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. She cast the vote of the United States for the Universal Declaration at



the third Assembly of the United Nations in Paris in that year. She continued her support as Vice President of the American Association for the United Nations, through her daily newspaper column, through books about the United Nations, and through countless speeches, conferences with nongovernmental organizations, and personal consultations in all parts of the United States and in other countries. In 1961 she accepted service as a Special Adviser to the U.S. delegation to the 16th General Assembly, attending delegation meetings and participating in many of its activities. She declined a similar invitation in 1962 for reasons of health.

The special meeting on November 9 was opened by Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan, in his capacity as President of the 17th session of the General Assembly. Recalling her contribution, "enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," he said, ". . . Mrs. Roosevelt has left us a deepened understanding of the words 'the dignity and worth of the human person.'" Ambassador Zorin of the Soviet Union spoke of her warm feelings for all people. Her death, he said, "has removed something from the lives of each one of us." "We who had the privilege to work with her in the councils of the United Nations," added Manfred Lachs of Poland, "will never forget her enthusiasm and devotion to humanity, to all mankind, irrespective of race and creed, to the great family of man."

Taieb Slim of Tunisia, speaking on behalf of the African delegations, paid tribute to her friendship and her inspiration to "our lives and our struggle." B. N. Chakravarty of India and U Tin Maung of Burma, like many others, hailed her as the "tireless champion" of the poor, the underprivileged and the "downtrodden." Mrs. Agda Rössel of Sweden, the only woman Ambassador to the United Nations, expressed "special gratitude to her for all that she taught us, for all the encouragement she gave to women all over the world. . . . We are all in some way her heirs," she continued, "and upon us is laid the duty to be the trustees of the wealth of constructive thoughts and ideas of realistic idealism and of all her endeavors."

Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, speaking for the United States and as her friend of many years, reminded all of "the warmth, the intelligence and infectious buoyancy which she brought to her tasks," and her "unceasing crusade that helped to give the world, after years of painstaking, patient travail, one of the noblest documents of mankind. . . . The power of her words," he continued, "came from the depth of her conviction." He quoted Mrs. Roosevelt's own words:

We must be willing to learn the lesson that cooperation may imply compromise, but if it brings a world advance it is a gain for each individual nation. There will be those who doubt their ability to rise to these new heights, but

the alternative is not possible to contemplate. We must build faith in the hearts of those who doubt, we must rekindle faith in ourselves when it grows dim, and find some kind of divine courage within us to keep on till on earth we have peace and good will among men.

### *Human Rights Commission*

The Human Rights Commission met in New York for its 18th session from March 18 to April 14, 1962. The agenda included further review of human rights developments, consideration of the principles on freedom of religion carried over from the previous session, consideration of national advisory Committees as a means of promoting progress, and other items.

In preparation for the session, a committee of six, appointed the preceding year by the Commission from among its members, had considered the report prepared by the Secretary-General. This report concerned human rights developments for 1957-59 and was based on information from member states. Additional governments had supplied information, bringing to 67 the number that had responded in contrast to 41 for the preceding triennium. The Commission noted that constitutions or basic laws adopted in the period under review affirmed loyalty and attachment to the ideals set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Several countries had taken steps to eliminate discrimination and encourage equal opportunities for all. Such action had included repeal of discriminatory laws and enactment of new legislation, law enforcement through the courts, the establishment of commissions to supervise the application of legislation, and the setting up of conciliation bodies to promote better relations among different groups. In some countries the administration of justice had been improved through reform of the judiciary, provision of remedial measures against wrongful administrative decisions, greater protection for the accused in criminal proceedings, and encouragement of the rehabilitation of offenders. Social security systems had been expanded in a number of areas to cover additional categories of persons, and provide greater protection against contingencies. Efforts to improve educational facilities were likewise underway in many countries, with particular emphasis on making education available free or at reduced cost. While noting the importance of these gains, the Human Rights Commission felt the need for information from more countries and also on problems and difficulties encountered, as did the Status of Women Commission, which made a similar recommendation.

Upon the recommendation of the Human Rights Commission, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) adopted a resolution which

included a number of suggestions to meet these needs. The resolution also included an invitation to nongovernmental organizations in consultative status "to submit comments and observations of an objective character on the situation in the field of human rights to assist the Commission in its consideration" of the periodic reports. The United States had made a similar proposal the preceding year without success. At this session Soviet-bloc members continued to urge that review be limited to information from official sources and to oppose recognition of nongovernmental organizations as responsible sources of information, but eventually agreed to the formula adopted.

The Commission gave attention to a revised report of its study on freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention and exile, which had been in progress since 1956 under the direction of a committee of four Commission members. At its previous session the Commission had requested the Committee to revise its first report in the light of comments received from member states and to add draft principles. Because of its heavy agenda the Commission did not have time to consider the principles in depth, but decided to forward them to member states for comment with a view to considering them at a later stage. In her comments on this item the U.S. Representative, Mrs. Marietta Tree, pointed out that recognition of sound principles would "make it more difficult for any government disposed to act in an arbitrary fashion to avoid the disrespect of the community of nations." She called attention to the importance of proposed articles providing that an accused should be presumed innocent until proven guilty, that no one be required to incriminate himself, and that no person under arrest should be subject to physical or mental compulsion, torture, violence, or threats of any kind. "Such conduct," she continued, "is shocking to human decency." She also urged the importance of the provision that arrested persons be informed promptly, at the time of arrest, of the charges against them, of their right to counsel and of their right to refuse to make a statement until counsel is obtained.

### *General Assembly Action*

The Social and Humanitarian and Cultural (Third) Committee of the 17th General Assembly gave early consideration to the report of the ECOSOC on human rights matters. In this, as well as in consideration of later items on the agenda, the U.S.S.R. sought constantly to prejudice developing countries against the United States and its European allies by raising outworn charges of colonialism and discrimination. The U.S. Representative, Mrs. Marietta Tree, replied on October 11 to a broad attack by the Representative of the Soviet Union on United States policy and sincerity. After analyzing the extent of



U.S. contributions to U.N. technical assistance programs, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and other U.N. activities in contrast to those of the U.S.S.R., she focused attention on the two major crises then dominating the news—the admission of the first Negro student to the University of Mississippi and attempted escapes over the Berlin wall:

Our attention has been commanded of late by two dramatic episodes in the unfolding history of mankind's struggle for human rights. We are all aware of the tragic events of recent days and of my own Government's triumph in . . . establishing respect for legal process.

We have also witnessed over the past year a series of tragedies and heroic defiances as one after another has chosen to risk death in preference to subjugation behind walls of brick and curtains of iron that imprison whole peoples.

But these episodes offer a striking contrast. In the first case we see the weight of governmental power and authority marshaled in the cause of the rights of the individual. In the second we see governments that build the walls and curtains and that shoot down those who seek their freedom. Both are historic episodes. But one results from progress while the other results from tyranny.

In our concern over these dramatic events, we must not, however, fail to recognize the great progress that has been made over the years . . . the very reason we sometimes have trouble is that we are making progress. Actually, we have gone far in extending the concept of the dignity of man, and in evoking recognition of his rights and freedoms. Much of this progress has been achieved by constant, patient and undramatic labor, and it is such works that we must here and now support and sustain.

As we turn then to the . . . tasks ahead of us, let us not forget that in our basic mandate in Articles 55 and 56 of the U.N. Charter, the human rights objective is co-equal with the economic and social goals set out therein. Indeed, the only justifiable object of economic development is to produce more of the material things of life which individual men, women and children want and need; the only justifiable object of social reform is to enhance the dignity of the individual by making it possible for him to practice the freedom that is potential in all men. All of these efforts will be as nothing if men do not have the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labors in freedom and in dignity.

The Third Committee returned to its consideration of the draft Covenants on Human Rights—the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the draft Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Committee has been considering a section of the drafts each year, and in previous sessions had adopted preambles and substantive articles for both Covenants based on texts forwarded from the Commission on Human Rights in 1954. No General Assembly plenary action has been taken on the articles adopted by the Third Committee and it is not expected that the draft Covenants will be considered in plenary until the texts are completed.

The Third Committee considered two new substantive articles for the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The first, proposed by Poland, dealt with the rights of the child. The second, advanced

by the Soviet Union, dealt with the right to asylum. Amendments to each proposal were advanced. The Committee decided to refer the various proposals on the rights of the child to the Commission on Human Rights for advice. It postponed a decision on the article on the right to asylum until it could consider related principles in a proposed declaration on the subject.

The Committee then began consideration of articles 2-5 of both Covenants. These set forth the obligations of the parties. There was general agreement on article 3, which recognizes the equal right of men and women to the particular rights set forth in the Covenants. There was agreement also on article 5, which protects against an interpretation which tends to destroy or to restrict any of the rights in the Covenants, on the pretext that the Covenants do not recognize them or that they recognize them to a lesser extent. The United States voted for the text of these draft articles.

The texts proposed for articles 2 and 4 differed for the two draft Covenants, and the Committee considered them only in relation to the draft Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. Extensive debate developed on article 2, which dealt with the obligations of parties as to whether developing countries should be expected to undertake the same obligations as other countries. The original text provided that parties should take steps "to achieve progressively the full realization of the rights recognized" in the Covenant, without discrimination of any sort. Indonesia and Burma proposed an amendment to this article, in the form of an additional paragraph, which would exempt developing countries from the full obligation. As adopted this paragraph reads "Developing countries, with due regard for human rights and their national economy, may determine to what extent they would guarantee the economic rights recognized in this Covenant to non-nationals." The vote on this paragraph was 41 to 38, with 12 abstentions. The United States, along with all the European countries and the majority of the Latin Americans, voted against this amendment. Support came from the Soviet bloc and a great number of African and Asian countries.

The Committee also considered the preamble and the first article of the draft Declaration on the right to asylum which had been awaiting action in the General Assembly since 1960. The draft Declaration recognizes the right of everyone to seek asylum from persecution. Sharply divergent views were expressed and various controversial amendments were introduced. The Committee approved texts in line with those proposed for the draft Declaration. It strengthened the preamble by inserting a paragraph initiated by Peru, which recognizes that the grant of asylum by a state is "a peaceful and humani-

tarian act and that as such it cannot be regarded as unfriendly by any other State." In response to a proposal by eight African countries, it also included a reference in article I to asylum for persons "struggling against colonialism." The sovereign right of each country to grant asylum as it sees fit was affirmed by the addition of a paragraph stating specifically that: "It shall rest with the State granting asylum to evaluate the grounds for the grant of asylum."

The Third Committee also considered a series of resolutions denouncing racial prejudice (see page 305).

### *Freedom of Information*

Discussion of freedom of information centered on international cooperation to assist the development of information media in less developed countries. In response to an earlier request, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) presented a report to the ECOSOC on needs and possibilities for practical help. The report emphasized particularly the importance of adequate information and news services at the national level. The Commission on Human Rights at its 18th session had expressed general approval of the recommendations in the report. It forwarded a resolution, later approved by the Council, which invited governments to include development of national information media in their economic planning; urged continued aid for this purpose through technical assistance and other U.N. programs; and recommended that the General Assembly take information needs into account in plans for the U.N. Development Decade. The resolution also invited governments of more developed countries to cooperate with those in less developed areas with a view to meeting urgent needs for better information media "with due regard for the culture of each country." A similar resolution was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

Because of the pressure of time, the Third Committee of the General Assembly did not continue work at the 17th session on the draft Convention on Freedom of Information, nor take up the draft Declaration on Freedom of Information pending since 1960. It decided to take these drafts up at its next session.

### *Slavery*

When the ECOSOC met for its 34th session in July 1962, there were 41 parties—five more than in the preceding year—to the Supplementary Slavery Convention of 1956 concerning Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices similar to Slavery. Mem-



bers were unanimous in deploring the continued existence of slavery in the 20th century. John Means, speaking as U.S. adviser, called for effective implementation of the 1956 Convention and of the earlier Slavery Convention of 1926, to which the United States is a party. "Implementation," he said, "calls for active cooperation among Member States particularly to prevent illicit slave trading and similar practices. It also means that the law enforcement authorities of Member States should not only be vigilant with regard to this despicable custom, but should give all possible assistance toward its speedy eradication . . . certain sensitive frontiers must be more closely supervised and controlled." Recalling the protracted struggle which ended slavery in the United States a hundred years ago, he continued, "When one looks back over the pages of history he becomes cognizant that no civilization has been free of this scourge, and indeed no nation on the international scene today has escaped an association with either the institution of slavery itself, or escaped engagement in prolonged practices similar to slavery. . . . It is difficult to believe that in some parts of the world slavery is still a quasi-legalized institution, and that there is seemingly no hope in these lands for the individual to attain personal liberty. Personal liberty is a very precious thing. One's right to it is inalienable but it can be preserved only by constant vigilance. Whenever and wherever human beings are held in bondage, whether it be debt bondage, serfdom, or any status similar to them, every man's freedom is challenged and threatened."

The Council adopted a resolution recommending that U.N. members which had not yet become parties to the Slavery Conventions adhere to them promptly. In the General Assembly 53 members joined in sponsoring a similar resolution, which was adopted unanimously. Mention was made during the discussion of the recent action formally taken by Saudi Arabia to end the institution of slavery which has long been recognized there.

### *Discrimination and Protection of Minorities*

The Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities held its 14th session in New York from January 8 to February 2, 1962. This Subcommittee is an expert body under the Human Rights Commission in which members participate in their individual capacity.

The Subcommittee had before it a final report on a study of discrimination in the matter of political rights prepared by Mr. Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile as Special Rapporteur. The Special Rapporteur

had revised and enlarged his report on the basis of debate in the Subcommission the preceding year. He presented it along with draft principles and recommendations for action. The Subcommission recognized the study as a thorough and constructive statement of the nature of democratic government and the equal rights and obligations of citizens. The report analyzes the impact of various types of discrimination on the right to vote and the conduct of elections, on the right to hold elective and appointive office, and on rights to information, education, freedom of speech, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and other matters essential to intelligent and responsible participation in the government of one's country. "The most far-reaching form of discrimination," the report stated, "is that which is directed not against one or several particular groups, but against all or nearly all the groups comprising the population of a country or territory, and which may amount to a complete denial—to all but the ruling group—of any political rights whatsoever."

The Subcommission concentrated its attention on the draft principles, which dealt with the various aspects of suffrage and public office in detail. The question of literacy as a qualification for voting was discussed at length. The U.S. expert on the Subcommission, Judge Halpern, pointed out that in a country like the United States, where elementary education is freely available to all, a literacy requirement is not in itself discriminatory, and referred to experience in the State of New York to show that tests could be properly administered on a basis of equality. He also described efforts under way in southern states to improve the administration of literacy tests in those areas. The Subcommission decided that in principle citizens should be able to vote in elections without regard to literacy and included it among the factors on which no distinction should be made in the case of elections. It also recognized that any candidate must be able to meet the "inherent requirements of the office" in seeking election or appointment, so that literacy might properly be taken into account in establishing qualifications. Among the revisions suggested by Judge Halpern was recognition of the role of political parties as part of the freedom for "peaceful expression of political opposition."

The Subcommission recommended to the Commission on Human Rights that the Special Rapporteur's report be published and widely disseminated. It also recommended that a popular version be prepared to be used "widely throughout the world." The Soviet expert, who had participated in the discussion and supported many of the principles, abstained on this provision.

The Subcommission also considered a draft report on the study of the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own, and to

return to his country, presented by Judge Jose Ingles of the Philippines as Special Rapporteur. In accordance with usual procedure, members commented on the draft text particularly with respect to its adequacy and the concepts on which it was based. The Special Rapporteur defended the view that freedom to leave a country should be more than a minimum right; that everyone should be able to move freely to his desired destination, and if he wished to migrate permanently, to take with him sufficient property to establish his family elsewhere. In a strong statement in support of the right to family reunion, Judge Halpern referred to the Berlin wall and the tragic situation of those who were forced to leave relatives and property behind.

The Subcommission reviewed the periodic reports on developments during the 1957-59 triennium, which had been referred to it by the Commission on Human Rights. It decided the periodic reports could be useful in evaluating progress in the struggle against discrimination, but that more would be needed on matters which had been the object of special study or inquiry, such as freedom in religious rights and practices, discrimination in education and employment, and the extent and causes of anti-Semitism. Judge Halpern advanced a proposal for annual review of these topics, which was eventually accepted as part of the regular program of work. The Subcommission also decided to undertake a study of discrimination against persons born out of wedlock, and appointed Judge Saario of Finland as Rapporteur.

The Commission on Human Rights, at its 18th session in March, confirmed actions taken by the Subcommission. The Commission decided to circulate to member states for comment the draft Principles on Freedom and Non-Discrimination in the matter of Political Rights.

Since the terms of Subcommission membership expired in 1962 the Commission also elected 14 members to the Commission including Morris Abram of the United States.

The General Assembly also took action in the field of discrimination, on the basis of a draft resolution forwarded from the Subcommission in 1961. This resolution had originated as a denunciation of the anti-Semitic incidents which occurred in various countries in 1959-60. But at the suggestion of the U.S.S.R. it was stated in broader terms to apply in general to manifestations of racial prejudice and national and religious intolerance. The Third Committee adopted this text unanimously with only minor revisions. African and other members then proposed the preparation of a draft Declaration and a draft Convention against all forms of racial discrimination. The draft Declaration is to be considered at the 18th General Assembly in 1963, and the draft Convention, if possible, at the 19th and in no case later



than the 20th General Assembly. After some discussion, it was decided that similar instruments should be prepared against all forms of religious intolerance. The General Assembly unanimously adopted these proposals, and requested the Human Rights Commission to prepare drafts, taking into consideration the views of the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

### *Human Rights Advisory Services*

More effective use of U.N. recommendations and materials at the national level is a constant concern of the Commission on Human Rights and of the General Assembly. One of the reports before the Commission in 1962 summarized experience in member states concerning the development of national advisory committees. The U.S. report included an account of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and its state advisory committees; also of the many state and local bodies serving in connection with antidiscrimination and equal opportunity legislation. In addition, the U.S. report emphasized the work in the United States of nongovernmental organizations interested in all phases of human rights. Mrs. Marietta Tree, the U.S. Representative on the Commission, called attention especially to the participation and leadership of private citizens in these efforts. She pointed out that in approaching problems in the field of human rights, not only should governments be actively involved, but also the full weight of informed public opinion should be brought to bear on these problems. The Commission forwarded a resolution, later approved by the ECOSOC, inviting governments to favor, in the light of conditions in their countries, the formation of national and local advisory committees and similar bodies and to encourage the activities of those already in existence. "Such bodies," continues the resolution, "could, for example, study questions relating to human rights, consider the situation as it exists nationally, offer advice to the Government and assist in the formation of a public opinion in favor of respect for human rights."

The Commission also requested the U.N. Secretary-General to prepare and publish, in installments if necessary, a guide to legal institutions and procedures for the protection and promotion of human rights, believing this would be useful in sharing experience among member states.

The General Assembly took a further step in promotion of local interest by calling for a special celebration of the 15th anniversary December 10, 1963, of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To this end it adopted a resolution setting up a Planning Committee for such a celebration to include representatives

of nongovernmental organizations and Specialized Agencies as well as of member states. The Commission on Human Rights was requested to consider the Planning Committee's report at its March 1963 session. The United States initiated this action, which was similar to that taken in anticipation of the 10th anniversary of the Declaration in 1958. The U.S.S.R. and other Communist members, wishing to claim leadership against colonialism and to appear as the champions of the new nations, advanced various amendments to the U.S. proposal. However, in the final vote the resolution was adopted unanimously.

### *Status of Women*

The Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages adopted by the 17th General Assembly contains three substantive articles requiring the full and free consent of the intending spouses, to be expressed in person before a competent authority; legislative action setting a minimum age for marriage (without specifying a particular age); and official registration of marriage. In casting the U.S. vote for the Convention, Ambassador Klutznick explained that under the U.S. Constitution marriage has traditionally been a matter within the competence of our respective state governments, and that legislation in force in our various states was in conformity with the principles of the Convention. "In view of our Constitutional system" he continued, "my Government, in considering ratification of the Convention, would do so with the understanding that ratification would be regarded as constituting a recognition and not an impairment of the constitutional rights of the respective States of the United States to regulate marriages within their respective jurisdictions." The statement attached to the U.S. signature of the Convention said in part ". . . with the understanding that legislation in force in the various States of the United States of America is in conformity with this Convention. . . ."

Article 8 of the Marriage Convention relates to the settlement of disputes regarding its application or interpretation. As forwarded from the Third Committee this article required the consent of all parties to a dispute in order to refer it to the International Court of Justice. The United States indicated its dissatisfaction with this article. In the General Assembly plenary, the United States, Congo (Léopoldville), Liberia, and Sweden proposed an amendment to permit reference of a dispute to the International Court of Justice at the request of any one of the parties. However, since this amendment did not get the required two-thirds majority, it was defeated. The vote was 46 to 45, with 13 abstentions.

The Status of Women Commission met for its 16th session in New York March 12-29, 1962. In addition to its usual consideration of political rights of women, equal pay for equal work, economic rights and opportunities, the access of women to education and the status of women in private law, the Commission gave attention to the periodic report on developments in the 1957-59 triennium and to a report on U.N. assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries.

The Commission noted with satisfaction that the large majority of states recently admitted to the United Nations had already assured women full political rights. The consensus of opinion was that the principle of equality in voting and eligibility for public office was becoming more firmly established in law, but that in practice women were not participating in public life as fully as they should. The Commission had before it the study on discrimination in the matter of political rights prepared by Mr. Santa Cruz as Special Rapporteur (see page 303) and the draft principles on the subject approved by the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. It suggested certain changes in the draft principles, particularly in order to clarify the right of women to public office without regard to their marital status. The Economic and Social Council later directed that these suggestions be circulated to governments along with the text of the draft principles.

In her statement, the U.S. Representative, Mrs. Gladys A. Tillett, drew attention to the grant of suffrage to the women of Paraguay in July 1961, thus completing the grant of suffrage rights to women in all the American Republics. She also reported President Kennedy's appointment of a U.S. Commission on the Status of Women in early 1962, with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt as Chairman. Its purpose was to review the progress of women in the United States and to recommend methods of overcoming any remaining discriminations against women in economic, social, and political life. She continued:

Women have come a long way in the past 150 years. Less than 150 years ago there was no woman college graduate in the entire world. No married woman could collect her own wages, and a woman's unborn child could be willed away from her.

It has been a long hard road, but progress has been made. Progress is contagious, and progress for women anywhere has helped women everywhere.

My country was the first to throw off the yoke of colonialism and win its independence and freedom. This fact reverberated around the world in 1776 and it still reverberates today.

This independence created a climate in which women could pioneer for equal opportunity, as partners in a new found freedom. The same opportunity has



come to women in emerging countries today as these countries have become independent.

In the United States the women who first worked for equal suffrage did not live to see its achievement. It was their children, and even their children's children who saw the battle won.

In its review of the periodic report the Commission expressed disappointment with the amount of information provided on the status of women and the few changes which appeared to have taken place. Studies made by the Commission showed progress in certain areas which was not reflected in the periodic report. The Commission therefore recommended that governments be encouraged to provide more comprehensive information in the future.

The Commission had before it a biennial progress report from the International Labor Organization (ILO) on equal pay for equal work. It concluded that legal and factual differences in wages and salaries for men and women still exist in many countries and constitute a serious obstacle to the real equality of women in the economic field. The U.S. Representative drew attention to the equal pay laws already in effect in 22 of our states and for workers in the Federal Government, and to the congressional hearings on a proposed Federal equal pay bill scheduled to take place in Washington during the Commission session. She emphasized also the variety of methods used in this country and in others—collective bargaining, voluntary action, and administrative regulation, as well as laws—to give effect to the equal pay principle. "But the principle of equal pay is not self-enforcing," she continued. "Effective methods must be devised for putting equal pay into practice. Governments, unions, women workers, and those interested in promoting their welfare, must exercise eternal vigilance to see that the principle is carried out."

The Commission adopted a resolution, later approved by the ECOSOC, urging continued cooperation to promote the principle of equal pay for equal work on a worldwide scale and requesting progress reports 2 years hence.

The Commission also examined reports from ILO on vocational guidance and training for girls and women and on other ILO activities of special interest from the standpoint of the employment of women. The U.S. statement included statistics on the increasing number and proportion of women entering the work force in this country and efforts to provide practical training facilities, especially for older women returning to employment after their children are grown. The Commission expressed the hope that ILO Consultants on the Problems of Women Workers would examine further the question of vocational

guidance and training. It also requested additional information on approaches and facilities for assisting working mothers with child care.

In line with its plan for review from time to time of progress in various aspects of education, the Commission had before it a report from the UNESCO on elementary education for girls. The report analyzed particularly obstacles to the education of girls, including customs and traditions which discourage sending girls to school. While the report showed that there was progress in many areas, the U.S. Representative found it also "profoundly disturbing. . . because it is evident that there are still girls who have never been in school and may never have an opportunity to go to school." She continued:

We must not set our sights at less than full education for every girl, in accordance with her interests and capabilities, on the same basis as boys. This is the right of every girl and every woman. A child without school, without education, has been denied access to the great treasures of the past and the great advances of the present. I do not mean that a woman cannot succeed without education. Women in all ages have made their contribution and some have become great leaders without formal education. . . . But this is an age of learning, and every girl has equal birthright with her brothers to an education in the schools of her country.

In the United States, we are fortunate that we have equal educational provision for girls and that we have had compulsory education laws. We too have faced problems of custom and tradition; in our case the struggle was to obtain equal opportunities for women in advanced and professional education, but within recent years we have been able largely to solve this problem. The difficulties discussed in this report are more fundamental, since they reflect traditional fear and opposition even for primary education for girls. Women in the United States have worked on such problems, and they share with women in the developing countries in the great fight for universal education. We are proud that today we have experienced teachers working in many other lands, under United Nations programs and through United States AID programs, at the request of governments in those areas.

In the field of private law, the Commission gave attention to the status of women in inheritance law. A report on the subject had been developed on the basis of answers to a questionnaire, and on findings of a European seminar the preceding year. It was found that under some legal systems the male was always preferred to the female in inheritance and that widows received less than an equal share of an estate. The fact that in many countries women tend to live longer than men added to the importance of establishing sound principles. There was general agreement that inheritance laws should take account of the situation of the family and especially of the responsibilities of a surviving widow. The U.S. Representative gave a detailed

description of inheritance laws in the United States, most of which are already consistent with the principles of equality and the protection of the family.

The Commission considered a report on U.N. assistance for the advancement of women in developing countries in connection with plans for further seminars under the established program of advisory services in the field of human rights. The question at issue was whether technical assistance and other U.N. programs were already providing adequate opportunities for governments to obtain the help they might desire. The report summarized a wide variety of projects useful to women in developing countries which are being carried out by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, with regard to education, health, vocational training, community development, and many other aspects of national life. Commission members noted that the problem appeared to lie primarily in the failure of governments in those countries to request the services available, either because they were not aware of possibilities or because they had not undertaken the necessary study to determine local needs. It was felt that nongovernmental organizations in consultative status might be able to supplement the efforts of the United Nations by stimulating public interest in the less developed countries. On the basis of the Commission's recommendation, the ECOSOC adopted a resolution recommending that member states take full advantage of programs already in operation to obtain services useful in advancing the status of women, including expert advice, seminars, fellowships, and technical assistance in the various fields; suggesting that these programs be strengthened where necessary; and inviting cooperation from nongovernmental organizations.

While decisions taken by the Commission on the Status of Women were generally unanimous, difficulty was encountered early in the session because the Polish chairman failed to address the Representative of China by her proper title. When challenged as to the reason for such discourtesy, she explained that her Government did not regard the Chinese delegate as the proper representative of the people of China. The U.S. Representative immediately raised a point of order, and was sustained by the large majority of the Commission. Thereafter the chairman addressed all members of the Commission in the same way, but by their individual names rather than by their titles. This procedure was accepted as a means of assuring equal treatment for all, but there were various objections and it was agreed that such a procedure should not constitute a precedent for future sessions.



## REGIONAL ACTIVITIES AND COOPERATION

*Decentralization and the Regional Economic Commissions*

Since the immediate post-World War II period, when three of the four regional economic commissions were established, some degree of decentralization with regard to its economic activities has been apparent in the U.N. system. At the outset, the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) were established because it was believed that some of the more difficult problems of postwar reconstruction and development could be handled more effectively on a regional basis. The Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) was established, not because of any reconstruction problem, but because the general economic problems of this region seemed to be, in some important respects, distinct from those of other regions of the world. The concept of economic development was still somewhat vague in the early postwar period, and a regional approach seemed to offer a more effective means of identifying and dealing with specific economic problems. For example, as a whole, Latin America is an underpopulated region, and, accordingly, its approach to economic development must be somewhat different from Asia, where overpopulation is a major problem. The decentralization of U.N. economic activities with respect to Africa did not really begin until the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in 1958, when the continent-wide independence movement was in full swing.

During the intervening years the regional economic commissions for Africa, Asia, and Latin America have increased in effectiveness and have proved their usefulness to member countries. This development has stimulated even greater interest in decentralization on the part of many U.N. members. Both the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) have taken cognizance of this interest in resolutions adopted in 1962. The General Assembly in a resolution of December 18, 1962, requested the U.N. Secretary-General to "proceed with the policy of decentralization of the economic and social activities of the United Nations and strengthening of the regional economic commissions," and recommended that the Secretary-General continue to convene meetings of the executive secretaries of the regional economic commissions to discuss matters of common interest and to exchange experience. Such meetings have been held annually for the past several years and have proven useful in coordinating the work of the Commissions. The resolution also took into consideration the interests of member states that are not members

of any regional commission by requesting the Secretary-General to adopt such measures as might be necessary to assure that such non-members receive the same benefits as they would receive through membership in the regional commissions.

The United States has supported those proposals on decentralization which it believes would increase the overall effectiveness of the U.N. system. It has opposed, however, decentralization as an end in itself. The United States voted for both the General Assembly and the ECOSOC resolutions noted above, after certain changes proposed by the United States had been incorporated. However, in so doing it indicated that U.S. support was offered to the extent that such decentralization assures a more effective planning and implementation of the social and economic programs of the United Nations and does not detract from the functions of the central organs of the body. These latter functions, which the United States believes must be retained, include policy formulation and guidance, and action on issues that can more appropriately be dealt with on an interregional or global basis. The United States also believes that the central organs must retain prime responsibility for coordinating the economic and social activities of the U.N. system and for maintaining those central services essential to the effective implementation of programs at the lowest reasonable cost.

### *Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)*

The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the first of the regional economic commissions set up under the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), celebrated its 15th anniversary in 1962. As the only European organization which numbers in its membership all of the nations of Europe as well as the United States, it affords a unique opportunity for the confrontation of the differing economic views and policies of the East and West. At the same time East-West political differences exert limitations on the work of the Commission to an extent not present in the other regional commissions. Despite these difficulties, the Commission and secretariat continued during 1962 to work on problems of the economic relations among the European countries.

The 17th plenary session of ECE, which was held in the spring of 1962 at its headquarters in Geneva, was relatively successful. This was true in great measure because less time than usual was taken up by discussion of extraneous political issues. Instead, a number of resolutions were adopted which offer promise of leading to constructive results. The Executive Secretary was asked to prepare a study of

the role played by the consumer and of the efficiency of the mechanism for distributing consumer goods from producer to consumer in the economies of member countries. Another resolution, introduced by Sweden, the Ukrainian S.S.R., and the United States called for increased attention to the development and adoption of national and international standards to facilitate international trade. The ECE also adopted a resolution which requested the Executive Secretary to prepare an analysis describing the positive results in economic, technical, and scientific cooperation among member countries achieved during the Commission's 15 years of existence.

In commenting on the work of the Commission, the U.S. Representative, Walter Kotschnig, referred to the difficulties which face the Commission. He noted ". . . the differentiation of socio-economic systems between free enterprise economies and centrally planned economies under state control . . ." And stated that, ". . . This situation, made more difficult by the prevailing political climate, inevitably means that the possibilities for achieving close economic cooperation at this stage are not the same as they are in other regional bodies. . . ." Moreover, he noted that while the regional economic commissions have a large role to play in the U.N. Development Decade, the role of ECE is more limited. Among the specific tasks which ECE might perform in this connection, he identified the following: to (1) offer the results of its own experience and research to the extent that these are pertinent to the problems of other regions; (2) bring its knowledge of European policies and prospective economic trends to bear on the future prospects in the markets of the industrialized countries for both traditional and new types of exports from the developing countries and (3) encourage its members to help increase the effectiveness and financial support of the global instrumentalities which the United Nations has developed for assisting the less developed countries.

The work program for each year, as approved by the ECE plenary, is carried out by the secretariat and by the various committees and other suborgans of the Commission. During 1962 the United States participated in meetings of the Committees on Agricultural Problems, Coal, Electric Power, Gas, Housing, Inland Transport, Steel, Timber, and Development of Trade; the Conference of European Statisticians; and the Meeting of Senior Economic Advisers, as well as in a number of subgroups.

The 28th session of the Steel Committee in September 1962 adopted the U.S. proposal that ECE undertake a study of the economic and engineering aspects of continuous casting of steel. The Committee also accepted, subject to consultation and coordination with U.N.



Headquarters and the other regional commissions, a German proposal for a revision of the study of "European Steel Exports and Steel Demand in Non-European Countries" prepared in 1953; and a French proposal for a study on the world market for iron ore. These studies are in addition to: the Committee's continuing review of the current steel market situation; the collection and improvement of steel statistics; as well as special projects already underway concerning the use of steel in construction, the economic aspects of iron ore preparation, long-term trends in the competitive use of steel in comparison with other materials productivity and automation in the iron and steel industry, and the possibility of standardizing terms of sale of steel products.

The ECE's Housing Committee continued during 1962 to put increased emphasis on town planning and urban renewal and to move ahead with the establishment of a working party on this subject. The first meeting of this working party is scheduled for March 1963 at which time it will establish a program of work in this field and review a study recently prepared on the planning and cost of new residential areas in selected countries. The Committee, in accordance with the work program approved at its December 1961 meeting, continued to review European housing trends, government policies and building costs, and to collect and publish housing statistics.

The Coal Committee reviewed the secretariat's report on the coal situation in Europe in 1961-62 and its future prospects and agreed to continue the statistical work already underway in the field. After some discussion, the Committee asked the secretariat to draw up a provisional long-term work program and revised organizational structure of the Committee to be submitted to the 18th plenary session of the Commission in 1963. The United States concurred in the necessity for a long-term program to establish priorities and avoid overlapping and in the desirability of a reorganization of the Committee to increase its efficiency.

The 1962 meeting of the Committee on Agricultural Problems continued the annual review of the agriculture situation in the respective countries, and the outlook for production and trade, as well as a review of recent projections of production and demand for agricultural products in Europe. More controversial was the secretariat's report "Ten Years of Agricultural Trade in Europe—1951-60," which not only reviewed trends in trade of the most significant commodities but also attempted to evaluate the factors responsible for these trends.

The Second Meeting of Senior Economic Advisers to ECE governments held in 1962 was the forum for an informal exchange of views concerning criteria for investment in countries operating under dif-

ferent economic systems. For purposes of this meeting, the general topic was considered under three headings: criteria for determining or influencing the share of investment in national income, criteria for determining or influencing the distribution of directly productive investment, and criteria for social investment. The United States submitted a paper on the latter topic, supplemented by a description of the standards and procedures applied to water resources and related projects in the United States. The First Meeting of Senior Economic Advisers, which was held in 1960, arose out of a U.S. initiative at the 15th plenary session of ECE. The subject of that meeting was the more general topic "Problems of Economic Growth."

The Conference of European Statisticians continued during 1962, in its plenary session and in working groups, to make significant progress toward reaching agreement on statistical concepts and definitions with a view to adopting and disseminating improved methods and practices, and to promoting international comparability of statistics. The Conference approved a European program for annual statistics of consumers' expenditures, and recommendations for the standardization and improvement of family budget inquiries in Europe. A Group of Rapporteurs continued its comparison of systems of national accounts in use in Europe, and its determination of adjustments required to link the main aggregates in these systems. Work was also continued on the development of all European standards for index numbers of industrial production, and on use of electronic data processing equipment.

As a major function, apart from its servicing of the plenary session and the committees, the ECE secretariat carries out, on its own responsibility, continuing projects involving independent research and analysis. These projects include preparation and publication of an annual Economic Survey of Europe, an Economic Bulletin for Europe published several times a year, and several statistical bulletins.

### *Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)*

The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), which was established in 1947, is dedicated to the economic and social development of the region. Its work program, in which 24 member countries participate, is carried out through studies made by the executive secretariat of the Commission in Bangkok, and through some 20 meetings held each year on various aspects of economic and social development. The United States, which is a nonregional member of the Commission, participated in 14 of these meetings in 1962.

The most important meeting of the Commission was the plenary session held in March in Tokyo with the theme of regional cooperation as a means of accelerating Asia's economic development. It was attended by more than 300 delegates and observers from 44 countries and territories, seven U.N. Specialized Agencies and 12 intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations. The annual sessions provide the occasion at which the work program of the preceding year is reviewed, and proposed new or amended projects for the next year are discussed and decided upon. They provide a useful occasion also for the U.S. delegate to meet with and explain to leading Asian officials, U.S. foreign economic policies and programs which have an effect on the Asian nations. Important new projects developed at the 1962 meeting included the proposal for the establishment of an Asian Institute for Economic Development (see page 319), a resolution calling for the Executive Secretary to give his fullest assistance to the countries of the region in the promotion of joint industrial investment, and another resolution requesting the Executive Secretary to aid the development of the copra trade which is of considerable economic importance to many of the ECAFE countries. The Commission also passed a resolution requesting the Executive Secretary to convene a regional conference "to review the social aspects of economic planning and development and to make recommendations to the Commission concerning its work in this field."

At the plenary, the secretariat's annual report, the *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East*, serves as the main working document for discussion. In 1962 the *Survey* reviewed current economic developments, and had a special section on progress and problems of economic growth in the region over the past decade. Included in this latter section were case histories of Japan, the Philippines, mainland China, Cambodia, Laos, South Viet-Nam, and Indonesia.

The Commission's work program carried out by the executive secretariat is divided into eight broad divisions: International Trade, Industry and Natural Resources, Inland Transport and Communications, Technical Assistance and Advisory Services, Research and Planning, Water Resource Development, Agriculture, and Social Affairs.

The secretariat's work in the first three fields is also complemented by the work of the Commission's three major committees on Trade; on Industry and Natural Resources, and on Inland Transport and Communications. These Committees met in Bangkok in 1962 in the months immediately preceding the plenary session. In addition to reviewing current developments in trade and trade policy, the Trade Committee reviewed developments relating to the European Common



Market, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and regional trading arrangements in Latin America, measures for greater trade cooperation in the ECAFE region, and proposals for organizing an Asian trade fair. Under measures for greater regional trade cooperation, the Committee accepted a report by a group of experts which proposed the formation of an Asian organization for Asian economic cooperation. No action was taken on the proposal which many member countries felt required considerable further study.

At the meeting of the Committee on Industry and Natural Resources, which had taken place earlier, possibilities for increasing industrial development and productivity, the current situation in mineral resources development, electric power development, industrial and scientific research, and problems in standards and specifications, were considered. The Committee recommended that a seminar be arranged on new steelmaking processes and that a study on problems of investment promotion be coordinated with other related studies. The secretariat was also requested to prepare a "regional investment manual" for the use of member countries which would contain all important governmental rules and regulations affecting industries in the region.

The Committee on Inland Transport and Communications met twice in 1962, first in February and then in December, when the meeting, normally scheduled for 1963, was held. In both meetings the Committee considered proposals for development of national road systems into a connected Asian highway, the use of hydrofoilcraft and hovercraft in the ECAFE area, and developments in transport coordination policy. To promote further work in the field of telecommunications the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) has assigned two consultants to the ECAFE secretariat to do work on the economic aspects of telecommunications planning.

More than 150 experts from 24 countries attended the second ECAFE Petroleum Symposium in Tehran in September. Representatives of both government and private industry made up the U.S. delegation. During the session Pakistan and Iran announced that joint geological survey work was to start along their common border, following the example of a previous survey by Thailand and Malaya. Similar surveys are being considered of the border areas between Thailand and Burma, Indonesia and North Borneo. The ECAFE was asked to render assistance in these and similar projects which provide concrete examples of international cooperation.

Natural gas has become increasingly important in the ECAFE region both as a source of energy and as a raw material for the chemical industry—particularly for synthetic fertilizers. During the symposium, Iran offered to make its extensive reserves of natural gas

available under favorable conditions and at reasonable prices to countries of the region. It also offered through the National Iranian Oil Company the maximum use of its extensive petroleum industry facilities for providing experience and training to other members of the regions.

Other meetings sponsored by the Commission, in which the United States participated, concerned customs administration, housing and building materials, chemicals and allied industries, family and child welfare, and economic development and planning.

One of the most important meetings held during the year in terms of the future work program of the Commission, was the meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Asian Institute of Economic Development. The purpose of the meeting was to prepare and submit a formal request to the U.N. Special Fund (see page 197) for its assistance in establishing an Asian Institute of Economic Development in compliance with an earlier resolution of the Commission. The institute, which is expected to begin operations in 1964, will provide training facilities for personnel working in economic development in Asian countries.

Each year it will offer a 9-month course to cover such subjects as development problems and policies; organization, administration and budget; project formulation and evaluation; overall programing; and advanced techniques in development planning. A 10th month may be spent in field training in some of the national planning agencies of member nations.

At the request of member governments short-term courses will be offered in cities outside of Bangkok in order to provide an opportunity for government officials to receive training especially designed to meet the needs of their own country. It is planned that the training program will begin with 30 students in January 1964, with the number of students to be increased in succeeding years.

For the initial 5 years regional members will pay one-third of its costs of \$3.3 million, and the Special Fund will finance the remainder.

Working closely under the direction and guidance of the ECAFE Executive Secretary is the Committee for the Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin. This Committee is made up of representatives of the four riparian states of the Mekong River, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Viet-Nam. It is conducting investigations on the possibilities of developing the river and its basin for agricultural, navigational, and irrigation purposes. In support of the Committee's work in 1962 the United States sent a team from the Department of the Interior to make a preliminary study of the feasibility of a dam on the river at Pa Mong in northeast Thailand.

The Mekong Committee met three times during 1962. In the course of the year, two new countries, the Netherlands and Pakistan, joined the group of 16 countries participating in the Mekong project. Eleven U.N. agencies also contribute to the work of the Committee. By the end of the year the total resources available to the Committee had grown some 50 percent to the equivalent of nearly \$22 million. This amount included almost \$8 million contributed by the four riparian countries.

During 1962 work also continued on the mainstream projects at Sambor in Viet-Nam and the Tonle Sap in Cambodia, work has begun on a mathematical model of the Mekong delta and planning progressed on seven tributary projects. In May the Committee took over the operation of the hydrological network established and financed by the United States as one of its contributions to the project. The Committee also adopted 14 recommendations for studies of the economic and social aspects of the overall project. These recommendations were made in a report submitted to the Committee by the Ford Foundation, as a private U.S. contribution to the Mekong project.

### *Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)*

The principal business of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) February 1962 meeting of the Committee of the Whole concerned the completion of plans for the establishment of a Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning. Twenty-six member countries, including the United States, participated in this meeting.

The United States also participated in two extraordinary sessions of the Committee of the Whole in 1962. The first of these, held in March, elected members of the first Governing Council of the Institute. A second meeting in June 1962 adopted amendments to the basic resolution governing the structure of the Institute. It also created an Advisory Committee for the Institute, which is to comprise representatives of the ECLA secretariat, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Organization of American States (OAS). Other international organizations may be invited to participate in the Advisory Committee at a later date.

The Institute, which began operations in July, has the following objectives: "(a) To raise the technical level of government officials and specialists through training programmes in the form of courses and in-service training; (b) to assist governments in establishing the institutional and technical organization required for a more efficient programming of their economic and social development policies; (c) to



assist governments at a purely technical level in preparing their economic and social development programmes; (d) to carry out the theoretical studies required for the improvement of planning techniques used in Latin America."

As its opening program in July 1962 the Institute undertook an intensive 8-month course in the various aspects of development planning. About 70 persons from a number of Latin American countries have enrolled in this course. Several Americans are included on the teaching staff. While the present course is being financed by the IDB and the U.N. Special Fund (see pages 320, 197), the program is scheduled to become self-supporting after the first 5 years. In addition to the 8-month intensive course, three other types of training have been included in the Institute's program. National training courses in economic development, of 3 months' duration each, have been organized in Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. These courses are designed for government officials and have included about 300 participants. In collaboration with ECLA, advisory groups on economic development were sent to Colombia, Bolivia, Haiti, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. The Institute has also sponsored special short courses in planning, which were concerned specifically with education and public health. Educators and key health officials from 19 countries attended these courses.

The ECLA secretariat participated actively in preparation for the Conference on Education and Economic and Social Development in Latin America, which convened at Santiago in March 1962. This meeting was sponsored jointly by ECLA, UNESCO, and the OAS, and included the additional participation of the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). The Conference adopted what is described as the "Declaration of Santiago," which recommended that steps be taken "in each country as soon as possible to formulate educational development programs integrated with over-all economic and social development plans." It also urged all countries participating in the Conference to take the necessary steps to maximize resource allocations for education in order "to achieve in 1965 a situation in which Latin America as a whole can devote [to it] not less than 4 percent of its gross product." As a start toward the attainment of these goals, ECLA, in collaboration with the newly established Institute, arranged a 12-week course on educational planning. Some 15 high-ranking officials from several Latin American countries enrolled in these courses.

In 1962 ECLA, the OAS, and the IDB cosponsored a Latin American Seminar on Development Planning, as well as Consultations on Economic and Social Development Planning in Latin America. Ex-

perts from a number of member countries, and representatives from international organizations concerned with the Alliance for Progress, attended these meetings, which were held at the ECLA headquarters during February and March. Representatives of member countries also met at the ECLA headquarters in July 1962 to consider Latin America's international trade relations. At this meeting special emphasis was given to the possible impact of the European Common Market on such relations. Following this meeting there was a roundtable discussion on trade policy. Representatives on the executive body of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) participated in this discussion. These meetings and the roundtable discussions provided a useful review of regional attitudes in anticipation of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which will convene in 1964.

During the year under review ECLA participated with the ILO, UNESCO, FAO, OAS, and ICEM (the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration) in a meeting of the Inter-Agency Working Party on Skilled Manpower. In October ECLA and the ILO jointly sponsored a workshop on budget reclassification and management in South America and a meeting dealing with productivity and the training of management personnel. The United States sent to the workshop meeting, an expert who served as a consultant to the ECLA secretariat.

The ECLA secretariat continued its important support to the Central American Economic Integration Program, which was initiated in 1952, as a program of the ECLA Central American Economic Cooperation Committee. Members of the regular ECLA secretariat staff, as well as specialists recruited for particular assignments, assisted by undertaking detailed technical studies for use of the Committee and the six subcommittees that were set up to implement the program.

### *Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)*

Nineteen hundred and sixty-two marked the fourth year of existence of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the youngest of the four regional economic commissions. The admission to membership of four newly independent countries—Algeria, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda—during 1962 brought its total membership to 37. This total includes, in addition to the independent countries of Africa, the four European countries which continue to have territorial responsibilities in Africa—France, Portugal, Spain, and the U.K. There are also four associate members. The United States, U.S.S.R., and a number of other countries have observer status in this Commission.

The fourth plenary session of the ECA was held from February 19 through March 3, 1962, at its headquarters in Addis Ababa. The U.S. observer delegation was headed for part of the session by Chester Bowles, Special Adviser to the President on African, Asian and Latin American Affairs. In his statement to the Commission, Mr. Bowles indicated that he brought special greetings from the President of the United States who hoped that the Commission's efforts might "help speed the day when freedom, equal opportunity, prosperity, and justice will become a reality for all of the people of Africa." Mr. Bowles observed that the United States is "encouraged by the direction in which most African nations are moving in regard to economic development. . . ." In this connection, he noted that the African nations were not overlooking the importance of agricultural and rural development; that they were emphasizing the importance of human values and human relationships and of education; that many were preparing to look beyond government funds to foreign private capital for development assistance; and that interest in the economic integration of Africa was increasing.

In dealing with the economic and social problems of Africa the plenary session did so within a political framework in which the themes of African unity and anticolonialism were stressed. On the political front, the Commission adopted resolutions requesting the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to "deprive the Republic of South Africa of membership in the Commission until it shall set a term to its policy of racial discrimination"; to deprive Spain and Portugal of membership, and to reduce the United Kingdom and France from full to associate membership. At the resumed 34th session of the ECOSOC in December 1962, the resolutions put forward recommending that South Africa and Portugal be deprived of membership in ECA were not adopted (the vote was a tie). The Council referred back to ECA the question of membership of France, Spain, and the United Kingdom.

The Commission's discussion of the economic situation and trends in Africa placed particular emphasis on two problems: the deterioration in the terms of trade of the raw-materials producing countries; and the vital need for industrialization as a means of diversifying the economies of the raw-materials producing countries. Discussion stressed the desirability of carrying out this industrialization in a way which would encourage specialization among African countries and intra-African trade. Considerable discussion was also focused on the possible impact of the European Economic Community (EEC) on African trade and development, with particular reference to its



effects on the African countries associated with EEC and other African countries and on relations between these two groups.

More than 20 substantive resolutions were adopted at this session. Among the more important were those which (1) set up a nine-member committee to take measures looking toward establishment of an African Development Bank; (2) selected Dakar as the site for an African Institute for Economic Development and Planning and called for a panel of experts to prepare a draft statute and charter for the Institute; (3) recommended that the secretariat be enabled to provide greater assistance to member governments in the formulation, evaluation, and execution of technical assistance projects; (4) established Standing Committees on Trade and on Natural Resources and Industrialization; and (5) emphasized community development, education, and housing activities (see page 250).

The resolutions adopted at the plenary session provided the basis for many of the ECA's activities throughout the year. The Standing Committee on Trade met in September 1962 to review trade trends and trade policy questions facing the African countries with the purpose of formulating a common practical approach. Much interest was focused on the prospects for intra-African trade, on the possibility of expanding trade with Asia, on technical aspects of trade promotion, and on the problems of commodity stabilization as reflected in the report of the special meeting held on this subject. The main conclusion of the latter report was that the problems facing African countries in the commodity field should be approached on a worldwide basis.

The Standing Committee on Industry and Natural Resources, which met in December 1962 as a working party of the whole, adopted a program of work in both industry and resources, calling for investigations on the scope for subregional cooperation in harmonizing industrial development plans, and on prospects of setting up strategic modern industries, wherever possible, on a subregional basis. The working party also recommended that basic studies relating to the establishment of an African Common Market in a regional or subregional setting be accelerated. In preparation for this meeting, the ECA secretariat prepared a preliminary basic study on *Industrial Growth in Africa—A Survey and Outlook*.

The Standing Committee on Social Welfare and Community Development, set up at the third plenary session in 1961, held its first meeting in February 1962. Its recommendations were reflected in the work program in the field of community development adopted at the fourth plenary session. A second meeting is scheduled for February 1963.

The Nine-Man Committee set up to investigate establishment of an African Development Bank held three meetings during 1962 and consulted extensively with African and non-African governments and institutions. Groups from the Committee visited the United States, Canada, a number of countries in Western Europe, Japan, Czechoslovakia, and the U.S.S.R. The U.S. officials expressed sympathetic interest in the Bank and offered preliminary views concerning some aspects of its organization, making clear that the decisions concerning establishment of a Bank and its organization were up to the Africans themselves. A Subcommittee appointed to draft a charter for the Bank, and the Committee itself, are scheduled to hold final meetings in January 1963, after which the Committee is expected to submit a report to the fifth plenary session of ECA, and to make recommendations concerning the convening of a conference of finance ministers to take final steps for the establishment of the Bank.

Substantial progress was made during 1962 toward the establishment of an African Institute for Economic Development and Planning. The objective of this Institute would be to provide training in economic development planning and techniques to specialists and senior officials of government agencies and institutions responsible for such activities in African countries, in order to help relieve the critical shortage of such skills in Africa. The Standing Committee for Direction of the Institute and a group of experts have developed plans for the Institute, temporary assistance has been offered by the U.N. Secretariat and various Specialized Agencies, and a request for financial assistance has been submitted to the Special Fund.

In all, the ECA held over 20 meetings during 1962 on a variety of topics of concern to its member countries. These included a Working Party on Economic and Social Development, an Expert Group on Comprehensive Planning, an Urbanization Workshop, a Population Seminar, a Meeting of Experts on the Organization and Administration of Social Services, an Expert Panel on Transit Traffic in West Africa, a Conference on East African Transport Problems, a Development Centre on Agricultural Credit (sponsored jointly with FAO), and a Seminar on Industrial Statistics (sponsored jointly with the U.N. Secretariat). The United States sent observers to five of the meetings.

In addition to servicing the various committees and meetings and preparing special studies in connection with them, the ECA secretariat continued to extend advisory services to various African countries, and played an increasing part in helping governments draw up technical assistance and Special Fund projects and in briefing technical assistance experts. The secretariat also continued to conduct inde-

pendent studies, publishing the *Economic Bulletin for Africa* (two issues), *Foreign Trade Newsletter* (three issues), and the *Statistical Newsletter* (quarterly). In accordance with a U.N. 16th General Assembly resolution on planning for economic development, a subregional center for economic projections and programing was established, which will cooperate closely with the worldwide center organized at U.N. Headquarters.



## *Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories*

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The Charter of the United Nations deals with trust territories and non-self-governing territories under chapters XI and XII. The Trusteeship Council is covered by chapter XIII of the Charter.

During 1962 the following territories achieved independence:

1. Western Samoa\* . . . . . January 1, 1962
2. Burundi\* . . . . . July 1, 1962
3. Rwanda\* . . . . . July 1, 1962
4. Jamaica . . . . . August 6, 1962
5. Trinidad and Tobago . . . . . August 31, 1962
6. Uganda . . . . . October 9, 1962

At the end of 1961 there were five trust territories under the trusteeship system with a population of over 6 million. At the end of 1962 there remained three trust territories: Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands administered by the United States; Trust Territory of Nauru administered by Australia for Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom; and the Trust Territory of New Guinea administered by Australia. Together these trust territories have a population of some 1,600,000.

The functions of the United Nations with respect to trust territories are carried out through the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council or, in the case of a strategic trust territory, through the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council. An annual report is prepared by each Administering Authority for each trust territory and recommendations are made to assist in the advancement of the peoples in the educational, economic, social, and political fields.

In 1962 information was considered by the United Nations on 56 non-self-governing territories. Under the "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories" (chapter XI of the Charter), members of the United Nations responsible for territories which are classified as "non-self-governing" transmit, for informational purposes,

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\*Trust Territories.

data on economic, social, and educational conditions in their respective areas. Those countries which reported on the territories under their administration included: Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The United States has responsibility for the following areas on which it reported: American Samoa, Guam, and the Virgin Islands.

The information transmitted by the administering states is summarized and analyzed by the U.N. Secretariat, and the Secretariat's summaries and analyses are studied and discussed by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, which reports to the General Assembly each year and makes general recommendations not directed to any specific territory.

## TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

The Trusteeship Council met at U.N. Headquarters in two sessions during 1962—the 28th session which met on January 10 and 11 and the 29th session from May 31 to June 8 and resumed from July 2 to July 20.

Jonathan B. Bingham, the Representative of the United States on the Trusteeship Council, was elected President for the year 1962.

During the 1962 sessions, the Trusteeship Council's membership was as follows: administering members—Australia, Belgium, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States; nonadministering members—Bolivia, China, France, India, and the U.S.S.R. In accordance with the Charter, the Council is composed of an equal number of administering and nonadministering members. On July 1, 1962, Belgium ceased to be a member of the Council because of the accession to independence on that date of the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi. On October 17, 1962, the General Assembly elected Liberia to membership as a nonadministering member of the Trusteeship Council to take effect January 1, 1963. The terms of Bolivia and India expired on December 31, 1962.

The 28th session of the Trusteeship Council which met in January 1962 was concerned mainly with procedural matters. The Council decided to defer appointment of members to the Standing Committee on Petitions and further decided that petitions on its agenda relating to trust territories that had achieved independence should not be considered by the Council. It decided to refer petitions relating to Ruanda-Urundi to the General Assembly's Trusteeship and Non-Self-

Governing Territories (Fourth) Committee for examination. It also deferred until the 29th session of the Council those petitions that were concerned with the Trust Territory of New Guinea.

During its 29th session which met in the summer of 1962 the Council discussed conditions in the Trust Territories of Nauru, New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands, including consideration of the report of the U.N. Visiting Mission to Nauru and New Guinea. The Mission visited New Guinea from April 8 through May 13, 1962, and Nauru from April 4 to 7, 1962. This Visiting Mission was composed of Representatives of Bolivia, India, the United Kingdom, and the United States under the chairmanship of Sir Hugh Foot of the United Kingdom. The United States was represented by Delmas H. Nucker.

The report of the Trusteeship Council for the period July 20, 1961, to July 20, 1962, was considered by the General Assembly during its 17th session in the fall of 1962. On December 20, 1962, the General Assembly by a vote of 89 to 0, with 10 abstentions took note of the report and recommended that the Administering Authorities take account of its recommendations and observations.

### *Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, or Micronesia, covers an expanse of ocean of over 3 million square miles. Scattered through this area are 96 distinct island units (over 2,100 individual islands) with a combined area of 687 square miles. The islands are divided into three large groups: The Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the north; the Carolines in the central and southern sectors; and the Marshalls in the east. This immense area has a population of approximately 80,000. The United States accepted a trusteeship for the islands as a strategic area by an agreement with the Security Council which came into force on July 18, 1947. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is the sole strategic trust. Since July 1, 1962, all of the Territory has been administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior. Prior to this date the Navy Department had administered most of the Marianas group.

The High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, M. Wilfred Goding, served on the U.S. delegation as Special Representative at the 29th session of the Trusteeship Council. Andon Amaraich, District Public Defender of Truk and a Congressman from the island of Ta in the Truk District, acted as Adviser to the U.S. delegation. In this capacity Mr. Amaraich made an illuminating statement regarding developments in the Trust Territory and answered questions from members of the Council.



The Council welcomed U.S. action toward implementing many of the recommendations that had been made by the Visiting Mission of 1961 and urged that those which had not yet been put into effect receive the Administering Authority's immediate active consideration. In the political field, the Council noted with satisfaction the progress which had been made during 1961-62 in the increased participation of the people of the Territory in the affairs of government. The Council commended the United States for the measures which had been taken to transform the Inter-District Advisory Committee into the Council of Micronesia (a body which meets annually to discuss common problems and promote a better understanding of the community of interests existing in the Territory). It hoped that the Administering Authority would spare no effort in transforming this body into a fully competent territorial legislature within a year or two. In general the Trusteeship Council hoped that the recently accelerated pace of political advancement would continue in the future. For many years the Council had expressed the desire that the entire Trust Territory be unified under civilian administration, and the Council commended that development when it took place on July 1, 1962.

The Council took note of the U.S. report that 65 important executive positions formerly held by U.S. personnel had been taken over by trained and qualified Micronesians. It considered that other positions of administrative responsibility, such as the posts of District and Assistant District Administrator, should also be transferred to Micronesians after suitable on-the-job training.

The Council again strongly expressed its desire that there would soon be a satisfactory settlement of war damage claims; similarly it expressed the hope for an expeditious settlement of claims still pending on behalf of victims of accidental fallout.

In regard to economic development the Council noted with satisfaction that a senior economist from the Department of the Interior had been designated to aid in preparing a long-range economic plan for the Territory. The Council further stated that in view of the emphatic need for such a plan it hoped for its completion by May 1963. The Council took note of certain specific economic activities, including projects underway in the fisheries field. It urged again that the fish resources in the Territory's seas be fully exploited. Accordingly, the Council hoped that the Administering Authority would give active attention to the necessity of setting up one or more fish-canning factories to take advantage of these resources. The Administering Authority was complimented upon its efforts to diversify

agriculture, especially the progress being made in the planting of cacao. The Council recalled the recommendations of the Visiting Mission of 1961 regarding the development of transportation facilities and indicated that it felt special attention was still due this field.

In examining progress toward improving health conditions in the Territory, the Council noted with satisfaction the construction of new hospitals and the training of Micronesian doctors, nurses, and dentists. However, it expressed concern that tuberculosis still continued to be a serious health problem in the Territory and urged the United States to undertake all possible measures toward eradicating this disease.

The Council praised a number of steps which had been taken by the Administering Authority in the field of education and made several suggestions. It recommended that English become the medium of instruction in the schools and suggested that education beyond the high school level be introduced into the Territory.

Finally the Council urged the Administering Authority to bring about, in consultation with the representative organs of public opinion in the Territory, an appropriate sense of urgency for the rapid and planned advance of the Territory in all aspects of its political life.

### *Trust Territory of New Guinea*

The Trust Territory of New Guinea, administered by Australia, includes the northeastern portion of the island of New Guinea, the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago and the two northernmost islands of the Solomon Group, Buka and Bougainville. This area of over 93,000 square miles is populated by almost 1,500,000 indigenous inhabitants, 11,000 Europeans, and some 4,000 Asians and peoples of mixed race. The Trust Territory is governed in an administrative union with the neighboring Australian Territory of Papua, and the policies of the Administering Authority in both areas coincide. The area presents truly formidable problems of administration. Much of the island of New Guinea is covered by dense tropical forest and an extremely rugged mountain range runs its entire length. The area is inhabited by some of the world's most primitive people who speak a variety of languages and do not even possess a common means of communication among themselves. Certain remote areas of the island are still not under effective administrative control.

During its 1962 trip, the U.N. Visiting Mission visited all nine administrative districts of the Trust Territory. Upon its return it submitted a report to the Trusteeship Council which formed the basis for most of the Council's deliberations at its 29th session.

The Trusteeship Council endorsed the view of the Visiting Mission that the time had come to create a representative parliament in Papua and New Guinea. It was the sentiment of the Council that the establishment of such a body would do more than anything else to speed development of a national sentiment and a sense of political unity. It further approved the view of the Visiting Mission that members of the parliament should be directly elected on the basis of adult suffrage under a system of single-member constituencies, and that all preparations for these elections should be completed not later than the end of 1963. The Council also felt that the progress achieved in the field of local government by the Administering Authority justified further advances.

The Council believed that the time had come for the Administering Authority to institute a full review of the economic planning now underway. It noted that the Administering Authority had been in contact with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD—see page 205) and welcomed the Administering Authority's decision that the Bank be invited to carry out a full economic survey by December 31, 1963.

The Council commended the Administering Authority for its admirable progress in the field of public health. In regard to education, the Council endorsed the view of the Visiting Mission that the Administration's program for mass literacy was commendable. Insufficient attention was being paid to the need for higher education, however, and a positive program was required to insure that hundreds of students will be rapidly qualified for, and provided with, such education. The Administration should be planning now for at least 100 university graduates annually and these plans should include special courses for selected students at both secondary and tertiary levels. A program of scholarships and living allowances should be established in order to make it possible for students to complete such courses, and that program should be planned now and put into operation during 1963. The Council, however, welcomed the comprehensive plans for secondary and tertiary education.

Finally, the Council urged the Administering Authority to bring about, in consultation with the representative organs of public opinion in the Territory, an appropriate sense of urgency for the rapid and planned advance of the Territory in all aspects of its political life.



### *Trust Territory of Nauru*

The Trust Territory of Nauru is administered under a trusteeship agreement with Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, with Australia exercising legislative, administrative, and juridical powers on behalf of all three. Nauru is a tiny island in the Central Pacific near the Equator. On June 30, 1961, the population, numbering about 5,000, had the remarkable literacy rate of over 90 percent.

The economy of Nauru is entirely dependent on the island's rich phosphate deposits. A high standard of living has been achieved by the Nauruan people, but with the exhaustion of the phosphate deposits it will be extremely difficult to relocate these people in an area where they can be assured of a similar high standard of living.

At its 29th session, the Trusteeship Council was informed that a set of proposals for resettlement had just been formulated by the Resettlement Sub-Committee of the Nauru Local Government Council. These proposals, which were submitted for consideration to the Australian Government, advocated the creation of a sovereign Nauruan nation related to Australia by a treaty of friendship. The Sub-Committee expressed the hope that Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom would financially support the establishment of the new state. Although a final form of government had not been determined, it would have a constitution, a unicameral legislature, an executive and a separate judiciary. The Trusteeship Council noted that the proposals would be examined in further negotiations between the Administering Authority and the Nauruan leaders. The Council endorsed the view of the Visiting Mission that the time had come for the Administering Authority itself to work out in detail definite plans for resettlement which could be submitted without delay to the Nauruans for their consideration and discussion.

The Trusteeship Council also noted with regret that few Nauruans had thus far been appointed to senior positions in the Administration and recommended that the Administering Authority continue its efforts to train Nauruans for such positions. The Council noted with satisfaction the Visiting Mission's observation that the standard of school accommodation and teaching was excellent and that the ratio of teachers to pupils was a good one.

### *Ruanda-Urundi*

With the birth of the two sovereign states of Rwanda and Burundi on July 1, 1962 (see page 176), the last African trust territory became

independent. This climaxed the work of the United Nations in leading and guiding eight African trust territories to peaceful independence.

### **First Resumed Session of the Sixteenth General Assembly: Establishment of Special Commission**

The subject of the future of Ruanda-Urundi was the principal item of business for the General Assembly's Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories (Fourth) Committee at two resumed sessions January 15–February 21, 1962, and June 7–28, 1962. At the first resumed session the Committee discussed at length the report of the U.N. Commission for Ruanda-Urundi established by the 15th General Assembly. This report covered the legislative elections held in the Trust Territory under U.N. supervision in September 1961. After lengthy discussions, during which the Foreign Minister of Belgium and Representatives of the Governments of Rwanda and Burundi made several statements and nine petitioners were heard, the General Assembly adopted a resolution establishing a new Special Commission for Ruanda-Urundi composed of five commissioners to be elected by the Assembly. Representatives from Haiti, Iran, Liberia, Morocco, and Togo were subsequently elected.

The Commission was requested to proceed directly to the Territory with a view to achieving the following objectives in cooperation with the Administering Authority and the national governments: (1) the reconciliation of the various political factions; (2) the return and resettlement of all refugees; (3) the guaranteeing of human rights and fundamental freedoms; (4) the maintenance of law and order; (5) arrangements for the training of indigenous forces with the help of experts or a training mission provided by the United Nations; and (6) the rapid withdrawal of Belgian military and paramilitary forces.

The withdrawal of Belgian forces was to be completed before independence with the exception of personnel whose retention in the view of the Commission in consultation with the authorities of Ruanda-Urundi and the Administering Authority, and without prejudice to the sovereign rights of the future independent Ruanda-Urundi and subject to the latter's subsequent ratification, might be considered necessary as an interim measure. The resolution also requested the Commission to convene, as soon as possible at Addis Ababa, a high-level conference with a view to finding a mutually acceptable formula for the creation of a union both political and economic between Rwanda

and Burundi. Finally it envisaged July 1, 1962, as the date for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement and decided to reconvene the General Assembly during the first week of June for the purpose of considering the report of the Commission and taking final action on independence.

In the course of the debate on Ruanda-Urundi, the Soviet Union had unsuccessfully sought to have the General Assembly call for the withdrawal of all Belgian forces from Rwanda and Burundi prior to the anticipated date of independence on July 1, 1962. The United States had opposed the Soviet proposal on the grounds that it would not be conducive to continued peace and stability and would infringe upon the rights of the sovereign Governments of Rwanda and Burundi who should be allowed to decide the matter for themselves. Three amendments proposed by the U.S.S.R., the main purpose of which was to insure the immediate departure of Belgian troops, were defeated by votes of 24 to 50 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions; 12 to 45 (U.S.), with 30 abstentions; and 13 to 46 (U.S.), with 13 abstentions.

The unamended resolution was adopted by a vote of 87 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions (Soviet bloc). The General Assembly adopted at the same time a resolution calling on the Commission to engage in talks with the Administering Authority and the Government of Rwanda with a view to finding a basis for settling the problem of the future of the Mwami of Rwanda (exiled King of Rwanda).

On January 31, 1962, the U.S. Representative, Jonathan B. Bingham, presented the U.S. position on the three principal points that were under discussion in the Committee: The United States believed that the General Assembly should accept the conclusions of the former U.N. Commission for Ruanda-Urundi to the effect that the only practical course was to accept the results of the elections held under U.N. supervision in September 1961, especially in Rwanda, and proceed on that basis. While there had been much discussion of the possibility of the two parts of the territory emerging into independence as one state, the United States believed that the weight of history and current attitude of the Governments of Rwanda and Burundi would probably not make this union possible no matter how desirable it might be. However, the United States agreed that the new Special Commission for Ruanda-Urundi should make one last effort to achieve this result. Finally, in regard to the date for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, the United States believed that the General Assembly should arrive at a date that would be mutually agreeable to the Governments of Rwanda, Burundi, and the Administering Authority.



## Second Resumed Session of the Sixteenth General Assembly: Report of Special Commission

The report of the new Special Commission (see page 334) was considered during the second resumed session of the 16th General Assembly which convened on June 7, 1962. The Commission reported that the Conference proposed in the Assembly's resolution earlier that year had been held at Addis Ababa from April 9 to 19, 1962. High-ranking delegations represented both Rwanda and Burundi at the Conference. Although the Conference did not succeed in achieving political union between the two parts of the Trust Territory, it did achieve a measure of unity in the economic field. The Commission also reported on a number of other problems including the return and resettlement of refugees, the reconciliation of various political factions, the maintenance of law and order, the training of indigenous forces, the withdrawal of Belgian forces, and the question of the Mwami of Rwanda.

As a result of this report and subsequent information received from the Representatives of the Governments of Rwanda and Burundi, and the Administering Authority during the session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution in which it decided to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory as of July 1, 1962. It further called on the Government of Belgium to evacuate its forces from the Territory and resolved that after July 1, 1962, those forces that were still in the process of evacuation would no longer have any role to play, and that the evacuation should be completed by August 1, 1962, without prejudice to the sovereign rights of the two Governments (i.e., implicitly recognizing the right of the Governments to retain Belgian troops if, after independence, they desired to do so).

In addition, the Secretary-General was requested to send a Special Representative and a team of experts to the Territory to render assistance to the Governments, to supervise the withdrawal of the Belgian forces, to study the needs of the countries for technical and economic assistance, and to report to the 17th General Assembly. The Secretary-General was also authorized to enter into commitments not exceeding \$2 million to meet such emergency measures as might be required to insure the continuation of essential services in the two countries. The resolution also recommended that the two countries be admitted to membership in the United Nations after independence.

Debate in Committee was especially heated on the question of the retention of Belgian troops by the two sovereign states after independence. While most members recognized that the actions of the two governments in this regard after independence were a question of their sovereign right, some felt that the countries would not be truly

independent unless all foreign troops were withdrawn from the Territory.

Speaking in both the Committee and the General Assembly, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, stated that the United States would vote in favor of the resolution. However, the United States had certain doubts about the wording of that paragraph which dealt with the withdrawal of Belgian troops from the Territory. He underlined the fact that in the days ahead the two young countries would, to a great extent, rely on Belgian technical assistance to keep their economies intact. Should the troops of the Administering Authority be withdrawn before the local forces were adequately trained to cope with internal security these technicians might leave the country which in turn might lead to an economic and political collapse. Therefore, the United States would not vote for that paragraph which called on the Belgian Government to complete the military evacuation of the two countries by August 1. The United States would, however, vote for the resolution as a whole and in so doing wished to extend to these two new nations the warmest congratulations and best wishes of the U.S. Government and people.

The resolution was voted on in plenary on June 27, 1962. Once again the Soviet Union introduced an amendment which would have called upon Belgium to withdraw all of its forces still remaining in Rwanda and Burundi by July 1, 1962. This proposed amendment was rejected by a vote of 24 to 46 (U.S.), with 33 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 93 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 (Soviet bloc) abstentions. Rwanda and Burundi were formally admitted to U.N. membership on September 18, 1962. (See page 176.)

#### **Seventeenth Session of the General Assembly: Report of the Secretary-General on the Implementation of the Sixteenth General Assembly Resolution**

On November 7, 1962, the Secretary-General submitted to the 17th General Assembly his report on Ruanda-Urundi, based on the mission of his Special Representative, Taghi Nasr of the Secretariat. This report made five principal points:

1. All Belgian military personnel were evacuated from Rwanda and Burundi by August 30 as agreed between the Belgian authorities and the Governments of Rwanda and Burundi. With few exceptions all Belgian military equipment was disposed of in Rwanda and Burundi by August 20.

2. The economic union between Rwanda and Burundi, as defined by the Addis Ababa Agreement of April 19, 1962, had been imple-

mented to the degree that it was "becoming a reality and that the two Governments realize its possibilities as a factor in the future development of their countries." It was estimated that assistance requested from the United Nations for the common services of the two countries would cost \$510,800 spread over the next 3 years.

3. Rwanda and Burundi required economic and technical assistance similar to that required by other new countries. "There is every reason to believe," the report stated, that the European Economic Community and the Belgian Government would grant assistance of this nature, but the Secretary-General also recommended for the consideration of the General Assembly a technical and economic aid program by the United Nations itself at an estimated cost of \$5,907,800 for the years 1963-65.

4. U.N. experts and experts from the Specialized Agencies were needed and some were already at work to assist in the "establishment of the necessary administrative machinery" to enable the tasks of the economic union to be carried out and to meet the actual needs of the two countries.

5. The Government of Rwanda had advised that it "had no urgent need" for U.N. assistance in the field of development and training of internal security forces, other than an expert "to act as adviser to the Minister of Interior in police matters." The Government of Burundi requested a total of 15 instructors for the army and a total of 8 instructors for the *gendarmerie*. Some experts had already been recruited and it was estimated that a total of 15 advisers and instructors for the two services of Burundi would cost a total of \$810,000 for the years 1963-65.

## NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES OTHER THAN TRUST TERRITORIES

Chapter XI of the U.N. Charter establishes that the interests of the inhabitants of the non-self-governing territories are paramount, and that the obligation to promote their well-being is a sacred trust. Moreover, under article 73 of the Charter the members of the United Nations administering such territories are obligated to transmit to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories which they administer. The United States has made it a practice voluntarily to trans-



mit political information on its territories (American Samoa, Guam, and the Virgin Islands of the United States), in addition to the technical information required. Australia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and recently, Spain and the United Kingdom have followed this example.

### *Committee on Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories*

The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was first established as an *ad hoc* body in 1946 and has been in existence ever since. Under its terms of reference as determined by the General Assembly, it is intended that it be composed of those members of the United Nations which administer non-self-governing territories, and an equal number of nonadministering members. The latter are elected for 3-year terms by the General Assembly's Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories (Fourth) Committee on behalf of the General Assembly. In 1962 the Committee actually consisted of eight elected members and seven administering members, since Portugal did not participate in the Committee despite the fact that the 15th General Assembly expressed the view that Portugal should transmit information. The elected members were Argentina, Ceylon, Ecuador, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, and Upper Volta; the administering members being Australia, France, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The 13th session of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories met in 17 meetings between April 23 and May 23, 1962. G. P. Malalasekera of Ceylon was elected chairman, J. de Pinies of Spain was selected as vice chairman, and E. Ros of Argentina was the rapporteur.

The Committee concentrates its efforts in annual rotation on educational, economic, and social conditions in the territories, and the 13th session, in accordance with this practice, dealt primarily with educational conditions. However, at this session the Committee for the first time examined the political and constitutional information transmitted by the administering members.

The United States was represented on the Committee by Jonathan B. Bingham. Richard F. Taitano, Director of the Office of Territories, Department of the Interior, and Dr. Ralph Bedell of the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, served as Advisers. Mr. Taitano gave the Committee a presentation on political and constitutional development in American Samoa,

Guam, and the Virgin Islands; and Dr. Bedell informed the Committee about educational advancement in U.S. Territories.

The Committee welcomed the decision of the U.K. Government to transmit political information on the non-self-governing territories under its administration, announced to the General Assembly in 1961.

The Committee recommended that in the development of political institutions in the territories care should be taken not to impose any political system or pattern of institutions, but rather that power should be given to the people to fashion for themselves the institutions which they consider most appropriate to their circumstances. The Committee affirmed its belief in universal adult suffrage and urged that, whenever they exist, restrictions to the right to vote based on race, sex, educational, or property qualifications should be removed without delay. It considered the possibility of some of the smaller territories attaining independence through federations or unions of territories or states and emphasized that such unions or federations should be the result of the freely expressed wishes of the people.

The Committee noted that some progress had been achieved in educational development in non-self-governing territories but that a vast amount of work still remained to be done and expressed the hope that the increasing realization of the urgency of the problem would very soon be translated into effective achievement. It commended to the administering members the necessity of associating indigenous inhabitants with the planning and execution of educational policy in the territories, wherever this had not already been done. The Committee noted that in some territories a system of schools based on racial discrimination still existed. It welcomed the efforts being made to eradicate discrimination, reaffirmed that on no grounds whatsoever could education on a racial basis be justified, and expressed the hope that efforts toward the abolition of racial discrimination in education would be pursued with the greatest possible vigor.

### *Seventeenth General Assembly Consideration of Non-Self-Governing Territories*

On December 17 the Fourth Committee sent to the 17th General Assembly five resolutions which it had approved earlier, on matters relating to non-self-governing territories. The United States voted for all five resolutions in both the Fourth Committee and the plenary.

The first of these resolutions concerned the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. It invited administering members to continue to transmit the fullest possible information on political and constitutional developments, especially con-

cerning the activities of political parties and groups in the territories, as well as information showing the extent to which the political, administrative, and judiciary machinery in the territories is in the hands of the indigenous people. This resolution was approved in the Fourth Committee by a vote of 80 to 0, with 3 abstentions. The vote in the plenary was 97 to 0, with 3 abstentions.

The second resolution continued the Committee on Information on the same basis as in the past but called on the 18th General Assembly to review the situation and to take a decision on the further continuation of the Committee. In the Fourth Committee 72 members voted for this resolution, none opposed it, and 5 abstained. The vote in the plenary was 96 to 0, with 5 abstentions.

The third resolution, which was adopted by the Fourth Committee by a vote of 82 to 1, with 0 abstentions, and in the plenary by a vote of 101 to 1, with 1 abstention, concerned the dissemination of the Assembly's Colonialism Declaration in Non-Self-Governing Territories. It noted with appreciation that certain administering members had cooperated with the Secretary-General in the circulation and dissemination of the Declaration in many territories, noted with regret that the Government of Portugal had not extended such co-operation, and invited administering members to continue to cooperate with the Secretary-General in the dissemination of the Declaration, and to include the Declaration in the curriculum of the territories' educational institutions.

The fourth resolution, adopted unanimously in both the Fourth Committee and the plenary, reaffirmed the resolution of the 16th General Assembly concerning offers by member states of study and training facilities to inhabitants of non-self-governing territories. Member states were invited to take the necessary measures to insure that their offers of scholarship and training facilities would be utilized and to render effective assistance to persons who had applied for, or had been granted, scholarships or fellowships. The Secretary-General was requested to submit a report to the 18th General Assembly on the member states' scholarship offers.

The fifth and final resolution, also approved unanimously in both the Fourth Committee and plenary, noted with deep concern that racial discrimination had not been eradicated in the non-self-governing territories and resolutely condemned such discrimination. The resolution also urged administering members to give immediate effect to the Colonialism Declaration so that an end would be put to racial discrimination in all forms and in all fields.

The terms of Argentina and Ceylon on the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories expired on December 31,



1962. Ordinarily these vacancies would have been filled by the election of two members; however, in view of the relinquishment by the Netherlands of its administration of West New Guinea, the Netherlands ceased its membership on the Committee thereby reducing the number of elected members from eight to seven. Accordingly, only one of the vacancies created by the expiration of the terms of Argentina and Ceylon was filled. Honduras was elected to this vacancy by the Fourth Committee, acting in behalf of the General Assembly.

## SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS

The U.N. program for scholarships for students from trust territories was initiated by a resolution adopted by the 6th General Assembly in 1952. By this resolution, as well as subsequent ones, the General Assembly invited member states to make available scholarships and fellowships to students from trust territories. In accordance with these resolutions the United States each year supplies the Secretary-General with data on the scholarships it offers to trust territory students.

Early in 1962 the United States informed the Secretary-General that it had allotted seven such scholarships for the 1961-62 academic year under the educational and cultural programs of the Department of State. Five of these scholarships were utilized as follows: British Cameroons, 1; Tanganyika, 2; and Ruanda-Urundi, 2. The additional two scholarships were not utilized since no students from the Trust Territories of Nauru, or New Guinea, or the then Trust Territory of Western Samoa applied. In addition to these scholarships, renewals were awarded for the 1961-62 school year to eight trust territory students who had received their initial grants in previous years. Leader grants were made available to one inhabitant of the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi and to two persons from Tanganyika.

In a resolution of November 22, 1954, adopted during its 9th session, the General Assembly invited member states to extend offers of study and training facilities to inhabitants of non-self-governing territories. The United States has regularly supplied the Secretary-General with information on the scholarships it has made available to inhabitants of these territories.

In 1962 the United States informed the Secretary-General and the General Assembly that it had awarded 112 grants to inhabitants of non-self-governing territories under the educational and cultural programs of its Department of State.

By a resolution adopted on December 19, 1961, the General Assembly established a special educational and training program for inhabitants of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa. This resolution, among other things, invited member states to make scholarships available, directly or through voluntary agencies, to South-West African students. In 1962 the United States complied with the resolution by making 10 scholarships available. These were made available to South-West Africans both inside and outside the Territory.

On December 14, 1962, the 17th General Assembly adopted a resolution by which it decided to establish a special training program for territories under Portuguese administration. This resolution requested the Secretary-General in setting up the program to make use of existing U.N. programs of technical cooperation, and it invited the cooperation of the U.N. Specialized Agencies. In addition the resolution invited member states to make available, directly or through voluntary agencies, all-expense scholarships for the use of students from Portuguese territories. The vote in the plenary was 96 (U.S.) to 2 (Portugal and South Africa), with 0 abstentions. Previously, the General Assembly's Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories (Fourth) Committee had approved the resolution when 86 states voted in favor of it, 2 (Portugal and South Africa) voted against, and 1 (Panama) abstained.

## SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

The 16th General Assembly on December 19, 1961, adopted a resolution (Resolution 1702 (XVI)) which established a new U.N. Special Committee for South-West Africa comprised of representatives of seven member states and charged with the achievement, in consultation with the Mandatory Power, of the following tasks:

“(a) A visit to the Territory of South West Africa before May 1, 1962;

“(b) The evacuation [from the Territory] of all military forces of the Republic of South Africa;

“(c) The release of all political prisoners without distinction as to party or race;

“(d) The repeal of all laws or regulations confining the indigenous inhabitants in reserves and denying them all freedom of movement, expression and association, and of all other laws and regulations which establish and maintain the intolerable system of *apartheid*;

"(e) Preparations for general elections to the Legislative Assembly, based on universal adult suffrage, to be held as soon as possible under the supervision and control of the United Nations;

"(f) Advice and assistance to the Government resulting from the general elections, with a view to preparing the Territory for full independence;

"(g) Co-ordination of the economic and social assistance which the specialized agencies will provide in order to promote their moral and material welfare;

"(h) The return to the Territory of indigenous inhabitants without risk or imprisonment, detention or punishment of any kind because of their political activities in or outside the Territory;"

By letter dated March 5, 1962, the President of the General Assembly appointed Brazil, Burma, Mexico, Norway, Philippines, Somalia, and Togo as the seven member states of the Special Committee.

### *Visit of the Special Committee for South-West Africa*

At the request of the Special Committee, the Chairman (Victorio D. Carpio of the Philippines) approached the South African Representative to the United Nations with a view to gaining the cooperation of the South African Government for the Committee's visit to South-West Africa called for in the Assembly's resolution. Subsequent to this informal approach the Committee formally conveyed in a letter to the South African Permanent Representative "its request that your Government cooperate in facilitating this visit. . . ."

On April 12 the Chairman of the Special Committee received a message from the South African Foreign Minister, which said *inter alia*:

3. The record will also show that where the South African Government was not prepared to adopt measures required by the United Nations, its attitude was dictated by its juridical position. The Government of South Africa cannot now be a party to any proposal or action which could imply a departure therefrom.

5. If, however, the Government of South Africa is correct in its impression that it is the desire of your Committee to establish contact with the Government for the purpose of conducting discussions aimed at finding a way out of the present impasse without requiring the Republic to compromise its juridical position or to discuss sub-paragraphs (b) and (h) of paragraph 2 of resolution 1702 (XVI), my Government would gladly undertake to cooperate to the extent possible for it to do so.

6. In the circumstances it has been decided to extend to you as Chairman and, if it is so desired, also to your Vice-Chairman, an invitation to visit the Republic as guests of the Government with the assurance that the Government would then



be prepared without prejudice to its previously stated position, to enter informally into a review of the matter at issue between the United Nations and the South African Government. Unfortunately it would not be possible to invite your whole Committee as this could be open to an interpretation prejudicial to South Africa's position in the case at present pending before the International Court of Justice.

7. If as a result of discussions at Pretoria it should appear advisable that you and your Vice-Chairman should also visit South West Africa for the purpose of acquainting yourselves with the territory and its peoples then such a visit can be arranged.

The Committee Chairman replied to the South African Foreign Minister on April 13:

In light of paragraph 2(a) of General Assembly resolution 1702 (XVI), the Committee in a spirit of cooperation welcomes as a first practical step the opportunity of having the Vice-Chairman and myself enter informally into a review of the matter at issue between the United Nations and the South African Government and of acquainting ourselves directly with the Territory of South West Africa and its peoples.

The Chairman and Vice Chairman (Salvador Martinez de Alva of Mexico) of the Special Committee, accompanied by two officials from the U.N. Secretariat, arrived in South Africa on May 5, 1962, where they held discussions with the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and other officials of the South African Government as well as with representatives of various South African political parties and movements (white and nonwhite). On May 9 they flew to South-West Africa where they stayed until May 18, holding hearings throughout the Territory. On May 24 they held a final series of discussions with the South African authorities "on matters at issue between that country and the United Nations."

On May 27 a communique was issued by the South African Government in the names of the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Special Committee and the Prime Minister of South Africa in which the Chairman and Vice Chairman were quoted as telling Prime Minister Verwoerd that in the places they visited in South-West Africa they found no evidence that there was a threat to international peace and security nor any signs of militarization in the Territory nor any evidence that the indigenous population was being exterminated. The Prime Minister was quoted as agreeing that a more rapid advance in economic and social development and in education was needed and expressed a willingness to consider inviting a few experts from Specialized Agencies of the United Nations to consult with the South African Government on economic and social matters. The communique concluded by stating that other matters had been discussed but left "for further consideration."

This communique precipitated widespread criticism from African and Asian members of the United Nations who believed it constituted a whitewash of the policy of apartheid. Subsequently Chairman Carpio informed the Special Committee that "he felt obliged to disassociate himself completely" from the communique. On the other hand, Vice Chairman Martinez de Alva affirmed that the communique had been authorized by Chairman Carpio, that the latter's recommended changes in the text had been accepted, and that he, Martinez de Alva, stood by the communique even while stating that he continued to reject apartheid, "even in its most limited forms." A spokesman for the South African Government stated that the Government was in possession of "irrefutable evidence" that Chairman Carpio had "participated in drawing up the final statement."

The extremely controversial nature of the communique and the circumstances surrounding its drafting and issuance resulted in prolonged and heated discussion in meetings of the Special Committee. The Committee stated that it had not authorized the issuance of any communique by the Chairman and Vice Chairman. The discussion led to a decision not to take note of the communique in any way. The only reference to the communique is in annexes to the Report of the Special Committee which contain letters from the Chairman and Vice Chairman. Nor is the communique referred to in the report of the Chairman and Vice Chairman to the Special Committee.

The Chairman and Vice Chairman submitted their official and final report to the Special Committee on July 27, 1962. The conclusions of that report were as follows:

(a) That the administration of the Mandated Territory by the South African Government has been and continues to be pervaded by the rigorous application of *apartheid* in all respects of life of the African population, resulting not only in their being racially segregated and discriminated against and in their being deprived of all basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, but also in the complete subordination of their paramount interests to those of a small minority of Europeans.

(b) That the policies and methods, as well as the objectives, followed by the South African Government in its administration of the Mandated Territory has consistently been, and continues to be, in utter contradiction with the principles and purposes of the Mandate, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the enlightened conscience of mankind.

(c) That the South African Government has evinced no plans to institute reforms or relent from its present policies and methods in its administration of the Territory and is not developing the Territory and its people for self-government or independence.

(d) That because of the foregoing, it is the overwhelming desire of the African population that the United Nations assume direct administration of the Territory and thus take all preparatory steps for the granting of freedom to the indigenous population as soon as possible.

(e) That short of the use of force or other compulsive measures within the purview of the Charter, there seems to be no way of implementing General Assembly resolution 1702 (XVI), or even hope of any solution to this question acceptable to the South African Government other than virtual or outright annexation of the Mandated Territory.

The Special Committee in turn submitted its official report to the General Assembly and the Committee of 17 on September 14, 1962. The conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee were as follows:

It is obvious from the report of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman that, although they had been in the Territory for no more than nine days and had been in such limited places only as were included in the itinerary arranged by the South African Government, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman saw and heard enough of the conditions to be able to confirm the previous findings and conclusions of the General Assembly on conditions prevailing in that Mandated Territory.

It is equally obvious from the petitions submitted and statements made by South West African nationals and from the Special Committee's remarks on conditions in South West Africa that it will be difficult if not impossible to have the resolution of the General Assembly completely implemented unless and until there could be established a United Nations presence in the Mandated Territory through ample freedom of the Special Committee or of other organs or sub-organs and of specialized agencies of the United Nations of ingress or egress out of the Mandated Territory.

Last but not least, it is quite clear that unless an early satisfactory settlement of this question were made, the situation could result in a serious political disaster with far-reaching consequences.

It is, therefore, imperative that the United Nations take a firm and resolute action on this question so that the South African Government willingly allows the United Nations to perform its legitimate supervisory function over the Mandated Territory.

In the light of past experience the Special Committee considers that the time has come for firm and decisive action on the question of South West Africa and that the Special Committee can do nothing more or less than to fully endorse the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of its Chairman and Vice-Chairman.

### *U.N. General Assembly Action*

The report of the Special Committee was allocated to the General Assembly's Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories (Fourth) Committee where petitioners were heard and communications were considered relating to South-West Africa, general debate on the item was held, and a draft resolution and amendments were considered and voted on. This involved 24 meetings of the Committee between November 1 and 20, 1962.



The views of the United States were presented by the U.S. Representative, Jonathan B. Bingham, on November 13, 1962:

At the outset, I should like to restate very briefly the fundamental position which in the view of my delegation must underlie any consideration of the problem of South West Africa. The Government of South Africa, we believe, has certain international responsibilities and obligations to the world community and to the people of South West Africa; these responsibilities and obligations are (1) to abandon the practice of apartheid in the territory, (2) to recognize immediately the right of the people of the territory to self-determination and proceed to move in that direction and (3) to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the people of South West Africa. It is the tragedy of this situation that the Government of South Africa has failed to live up to these responsibilities and obligations in each respect.

He went on to say with respect to the proceedings brought in the International Court of Justice by Ethiopia and Liberia (see page 357):

... we believe it is of utmost importance that the General Assembly not do anything to interfere with the proper conduct of this contentious case or which might adversely affect the basis on which the case is brought. My Government, together with the Governments of most of the United Nations, places the utmost importance upon the rule of law and upon the desirability of basing any action taken by the United Nations upon a solid legal foundation. In this way, the ability of the United Nations to mobilize the support needed to fulfill its objectives is immeasurably increased.

The U.S. Representative finished by urging certain actions by the General Assembly which the United States believed to be constructive:

Although I have emphasized our anxiety that nothing should be done to interfere with the proceeding currently before the International Court of Justice, this does not in our view in any way prevent the Assembly from taking other positive and constructive actions. We have made clear in the past, and do so again, that we reject the *sub judice* argument of the South African delegation. As I have noted, we voted for Resolution 1702 and would be inclined to favor this year an effort to further the implementation of the objectives of that resolution. We would be opposed, however, to any efforts to accomplish this result by coercion. We believe that only redoubled efforts to achieve a peaceful solution in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter offer hope for a satisfactory solution. Some form of United Nations presence in the Territory, perhaps under the aegis of the Secretary General, would, we believe, be a constructive step in this direction. We support this concept and would be prepared to urge the Government of South Africa to cooperate fully.

A draft resolution was introduced in the Fourth Committee by 44 African and Asian countries, plus Jamaica, of which the essential points were that the General Assembly: (1) find that the "critical situation in South West Africa constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security"; (2) "condemns the continued refusal of the Government of South Africa to cooperate with the United Nations in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1702

(XVI)"; (3) request the Committee of 17 to discharge the "tasks assigned to the Special Committee for South West Africa"; (4) request the Secretary-General to "appoint a resident United Nations Technical Assistance representative for South West Africa" and to "take all necessary steps in order to establish an effective United Nations presence in South West Africa."

The United States submitted amendments to replace the word "constitutes" with the phrase "may lead to" before the words "serious threat to international peace and security" and to replace the word "condemns" with the words "deeply deplores" with reference to South Africa's lack of cooperation with the United Nations.

The first amendment proposed by the United States was rejected on November 19 by a vote of 24 (U.S.) to 57, with 14 abstentions. The second U.S. amendment was also rejected on November 19 by a vote of 17 (U.S.) to 64, with 17 abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was adopted on November 19 by a vote of 96 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 (Portugal) abstention. The Committee also adopted without objection a resolution deciding to dissolve the Special Committee for South-West Africa.

On December 14 the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution on South-West Africa by a vote of 98 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 (Portugal) abstention.

## PART IV

# *Legal and Constitutional Developments*

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Much of the work of the United Nations involves legal or constitutional questions. These questions are discussed in other parts of this report in connection with the underlying issues to which they relate. However, because of their predominantly legal character, part IV deals separately with the activities of the International Court of Justice, the International Law Commission, and the Legal Committee of the U.N. General Assembly.

## INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ)

In 1962 the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, delivered one judgment and one advisory opinion. At the end of 1962 the Court's docket contained three contentious cases.

### *Certain Expenses of the United Nations (ICJ Advisory Opinion)*

On December 20, 1961, the General Assembly adopted a resolution requesting the International Court of Justice to deliver an advisory opinion as to whether assessments levied by the General Assembly on states members of the United Nations for expenditures incurred in the operation of the United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC) and the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in the Middle East are "expenses of the Organization" within the meaning of the Charter and, therefore, legally binding upon the members. The question put to the Court by the General Assembly reads as follows:

Do the expenditures authorized in General Assembly resolutions 1583 (XV) and 1590 (XV) of 20 December 1960, 1595 (XV) of 3 April 1961, 1619 (XV) of 21 April 1961 and 1633 (XVI) of 30 October 1961 relating to the United Nations



operations in the Congo undertaken in pursuance of the Security Council resolutions of 14 July, 22 July and 9 August 1960 and 21 February and 24 November 1961, and General Assembly resolutions 1474 (ES-IV) of 20 September 1960 and 1599 (XV), 1600 (XV) and 1601 (XV) of 15 April 1961, and the expenditures authorized in General Assembly resolutions 1122 (XI) of 26 November 1956, 1089 (XI) of 21 December 1956, 1090 (XI) of 27 February 1957, 1151 (XII) of 22 November 1957, 1204 (XII) of 13 December 1957, 1337 (XIII) of 13 December 1958, 1441 (XIV) of 5 December 1959 and 1575 (XV) of 20 December 1960 relating to the operations of the United Nations Emergency Force undertaken in pursuance of General Assembly resolutions 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956, 998 (ES-I) and 999 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956, 1000 (ES-I) of 5 November 1956, 1001 (ES-I) of 7 November 1956, 1121 (XI) of 24 November 1956 and 1263 (XIII) of 14 November 1958, constitute "expenses of the Organization" within the meaning of Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations? (footnotes omitted)

By an order dated December 27, 1961, the Court fixed February 20, 1962, as the time limit within which the members of the United Nations could submit written statements of their views. Statements urging that the Court give an affirmative answer to the question put to it were submitted by Australia, Canada, Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Statements urging the Court to decline to give an answer or to answer the question in the negative were submitted by Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, France, Portugal, Rumania, South Africa, Spain, the Soviet Union, Ukrainian S.S.R., and Upper Volta. The Secretary-General of the United Nations transmitted a dossier of documents throwing light upon the question and a factual explanation of the budgetary and financial practice of the United Nations.

Hearings before the Court took place at The Hague from May 14 to 21, 1962. Oral arguments calling for an affirmative response were made by Australia, Canada, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Abram Chayes, Legal Adviser of the Department of State, addressed the Court on behalf of the United States. The Soviet Union, appearing before the World Court for its first oral presentation in the Court's 40-year history, made a statement calling for a negative response to the question submitted by the General Assembly.

The Court delivered its advisory opinion on July 20. It found that the expenditures authorized by the General Assembly in the enumerated resolutions concerning UNOC and UNEF constituted "expenses of the Organization" within the meaning of article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations.

At the beginning of its opinion, the Court noted that certain members had argued that the Court should decline an advisory opinion upon the ground that the question submitted by the General Assembly

was political rather than legal in character. The Court refused to accept this contention, observing that the question was in fact legal in character since it related to the interpretation of a treaty provision, namely, article 17, paragraph 2, of the U.N. Charter. The Court also found that it had power to examine all the aspects of the question, including other relevant provisions of the Charter, even though only article 17, paragraph 2, was specifically mentioned in the question submitted by the General Assembly.

The Court considered initially the identification of what were "the expenses of the Organization" as that phrase appears in article 17, paragraph 2. That provision states: "The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly." On its face, the Court held, this provision meant all expenses, and not merely "administrative" or "regular" expenses. Moreover, the practice of the General Assembly from the inception of the United Nations had been to include in the Organization's budget (under article 17, paragraph 1, of the Charter, which states that: "The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization") provision for expenditures of every variety, for example, provision for "unforeseen and extraordinary expenses" arising from "the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Court next examined article 17 in the context of the general structure and scheme of the Charter. The purposes of article 17, it held, were to vest in the General Assembly control over U.N. finances and over the levying of apportioned amounts of U.N. expenses. Article 17 was the only Charter article which referred to budgetary authority.

In the course of its presentation before the Court, the Soviet Union, in particular, argued that expenses resulting from operations concerning international peace and security were not "expenses of the Organization"; the Soviet Union contended that the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security lay exclusively with the Security Council. The U.S.S.R. also pointed to article 43 of the Charter, which envisages that members will negotiate agreements with the Security Council providing for armed forces, assistance, and facilities, and it urged that, since such agreements were intended to include allocations of costs of Security Council enforcement actions, only the Council possessed authority to arrange for meeting these costs.

The Court rejected this argument. It emphasized that the powers of the Security Council concerning international peace and security were "primary," not exclusive. While only the Council could take "coercive" or "enforcement" action under chapter VII of the Char-

ter, the General Assembly was also concerned with international peace and security. The Assembly was empowered to assess members for expenditures incurred in maintaining international peace and security and it could make substantive recommendations regarding any question in this area, unless the Security Council were undertaking coercive or enforcement action with respect to the parties involved in that question. The U.N. operations in the Congo and the Middle East were found by the Court not to constitute enforcement action against a state. Furthermore, no agreements between members and the Security Council of the kind contemplated by article 43 had ever been concluded. The Court pointed out that, to deny the Security Council power to deal with emergency situations except through nonexistent article 43 agreements, or to deny a levying power on the part of the Assembly, would be to render the United Nations impotent in the face of disputes or situations which were likely to endanger or had in fact endangered the peace. Moreover, the Assembly possessed the right to assess expenses flowing from Security Council action under article 43 as well as other articles of the Charter.

The Court then took up a second aspect of the question submitted by the General Assembly—the nature of the expenditures specifically enumerated in the request for the advisory opinion. The general test of the legality of U.N. expenditures was found to be whether such expenditures were made in the furtherance of the purposes of the Organization. These purposes were spelled out in article 1 of the Charter. Among them was the goal of international peace and security which occupied a primary place; such other purposes as the achievement of friendly relations, economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian goals, and human rights were dependent upon the maintenance of the peace. Expenses incurred by the Secretary-General acting upon resolutions of the Security Council or the General Assembly apparently dealing with the maintenance of peace must be presumed to constitute “expenses of the Organization.”

The Court then turned to the specific peacekeeping operations in question. It found that the UNEF had been created by the General Assembly in 1956 following the Suez incident. Its purpose was to promote and maintain a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. The Secretary-General had incurred certain financial obligations to create and maintain UNEF and the expenses provided for in those obligations had to be considered to be “expenses of the Organization.” Although the General Assembly had established a special account for UNEF financing, this accounting device carried with it no implication of exclusion of UNEF expenses from the U.N. budget; on the con-



trary, the Assembly's intention was to assess and apportion expenses in conformity with article 17.

The U.N. operations in the Congo had been initially authorized by the Security Council in 1960 in order to restore peace and security to the Congo. Like UNEF, UNOC did not involve coercive "preventive or enforcement" measures against any state, and subsequent General Assembly resolutions concerning UNOC thus did not constitute a usurpation of the jurisdiction conferred upon the Security Council by the Charter. The Council had repeatedly approved the Secretary-General's action in implementation of its resolutions. Although the Assembly had upon two occasions expressed the view that UNOC expenses were "extraordinary" and "essentially different" from those of the "regular budget," this view appeared concerned with the scale of assessment and not its binding character. The Assembly had clearly intended to exercise its power under article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter in voting its Congo assessments.

The Court thus reached the conclusion, by a vote of 9 to 5, that the expenditures authorized by resolutions of the General Assembly concerning U.N. operations in the Middle East and the Congo were "expenses of the Organization" within the meaning of article 17, paragraph 2, of the U.N. Charter. Judge Jessup of the United States, voted with the majority. To the advisory opinion were appended a declaration by Judge Spiropoulos (Greece); separate opinions by Judges Sir Percy Spender (Australia), Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice (U.K.), and Morelli (Italy); and dissenting opinions by Judges Winiarski (Poland), Basdevant (France), Moreno Quintana (Argentina), Koretsky (U.S.S.R.), and Bustamante y Rivero (Peru).

On December 19, 1962, the General Assembly adopted a resolution accepting the opinion of the Court on the question submitted to it. That resolution, of which the United States was an original cosponsor, was adopted by a vote of 76 to 17, with 8 abstentions. (See part V, page 378.) For a further discussion of U.N. financial problems, see pages 373-382.

### *Temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand)*

On October 6, 1959, Cambodia filed an application instituting proceedings against Thailand concerning a dispute relating to sovereignty over the ruins of the Temple of Preah Vihear. Cambodia asked the Court to find that territorial sovereignty over the temple belonged to Cambodia. In its judgment of May 26, 1961, dealing with the procedural phase of the proceedings, the Court found that it had jurisdiction to adjudicate upon the merits of the dispute. Public hearings

on the merits took place before the Court in March 1962. Among others participating in these hearings were Dean Acheson for the Government of Cambodia and James Nevins Hyde for the Government of Thailand. The following is a brief résumé of the Court's judgment of June 15, 1962, in this case.

The Court began by referring to the fact that the Temple of Preah Vihear was an ancient sanctuary and shrine situated on the Thai-Cambodian border. Although partially in ruins, the temple has artistic and archeological interest and is a place of pilgrimage. The temple stands on a promontory of the Dangrek Mountains. The dispute between Cambodia and Thailand arose from differing interpretations of boundary settlements made in the period 1904-1908 between Siam (Thailand) and France, which at that time conducted the foreign relations of Cambodia. A treaty of 1904 established the general character of the frontier, the exact boundary of which was to be delimited by a Franco-Siamese Mixed Commission. In general, the frontier was to follow the watershed line. The heads of the French and Siamese sections of the Mixed Commission subsequently journeyed to the area. The Siamese Government had requested French officers to map the frontier region. Some months after the Mixed Commission began to function, a series of maps was completed by a team of French officers, a number of whom were members of the Mixed Commission. One of these was a map of the Dangrek region showing Preah Vihear as lying on the Cambodian side. This map and the others of the series were communicated to the Siamese Government in 1908. In the present case, Cambodia relied particularly upon this map in support of her claim of sovereignty over the temple.

Thailand contended before the Court that the map, not being the work of the Mixed Commission, had no binding character; the frontier indicated on the Dangrek map did not represent the true watershed line; and that such a line would place the temple in Thailand. Thailand averred that, if it had accepted the map, it was only because of a mistaken belief that the frontier indicated in fact corresponded with the watershed line.

The Court concluded that the maps in question had no binding character when drawn, since they had never been formally approved by the Mixed Commission. But a detailed examination of the record showed that the maps had been communicated to the Siamese Government as purporting to represent the outcome of the work of delimitation under the 1904 treaty. The Siamese authorities were held to have acquiesced in their content, since they did not protest or otherwise react to the maps for many years. The maps were well known to various Siamese authorities and were given wide publicity.

The Court pointed out that, in general, when two countries establish a frontier between them, a primary object is to achieve stability and finality. This would be impossible if the boundary line established could at any moment be called in question and a rectification claimed whenever any inaccuracy by reference to a clause in the parent treaty might be discovered. It was an established rule of law that a plea of error could not be allowed as an element vitiating consent if the party advancing it contributed by its own conduct to the error, or could have avoided it, or if the circumstances were such as to put that party on notice of a possible error. A survey conducted in 1934-35 had, in fact, established a divergence between the 1907 map line and the true line of the watershed. Thailand had, nevertheless, continued to use and to publish maps showing Preah Vihear to be situated in Cambodia. Nor had Thailand raised any question concerning sovereignty over the temple in the course of certain negotiations between France and Siam during the 1920's and 1930's.

The Court held that Thailand came temporarily into possession of certain parts of Cambodia, including Preah Vihear in 1941, during the Second World War. In 1953 Cambodia achieved independence and at that time proposed to send keepers or guards to the temple in furtherance of its objections to Thailand's occupation of the ruins, to which objections had first been made by France and then by Cambodia after the conclusion of the war. In 1958 a conference was held at Bangkok between Thailand and Cambodia to discuss various matters in dispute between the parties, including that of sovereignty over the temple. Negotiations broke down and Cambodia, thereupon, instituted the present proceedings.

Upon a review of the facts, the Court concluded that Thailand had accepted the 1907 Dangrek map. Even were there doubt in this connection, Thailand was now precluded from asserting that it had not accepted them since France and Cambodia had relied upon its acceptance and Thailand had for 50 years enjoyed such benefits as the 1904 treaty had conferred upon it. The acceptance of the 1907 map made them a part of the treaty settlement, for the parties at that time had adopted an interpretation of that settlement in which the map line as drawn prevailed over the provisions of the treaty dealing in general terms with the line of the watershed.

The Court thus ruled, by a vote of 9 to 3, that the temple was situated in territory under the sovereignty of Cambodia and that, as a consequence, Thailand was obligated to withdraw any police force, guards, or keepers, it had stationed at the temple. The Court also found, by a vote of 7 to 5, that Thailand was under an obligation to restore to Cambodia any sculptures or other objects which it might



have been removed since the occupation of the temple by its authorities, although Cambodia had not presented proof that any such objects had been withdrawn. Judges Tanaka (Japan) and Morelli (Italy) appended a joint declaration to the Court's judgment. Vice President Alfaro (Panama) and Judge Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice (U.K.) appended separate opinions. Judges Moreno Quintana (Argentina), Wellington Koo (China), and Sir Percy Spender (Australia) appended dissenting opinions.

### *South-West Africa Cases* (Ethiopia *v.* South Africa; Liberia *v.* South Africa)

On November 4, 1960, Ethiopia and Liberia instituted independent proceedings, subsequently joined by the Court, against the then Union of South Africa. These proceedings related to the question of South Africa's administration of the mandated territory of South-West Africa and the obligations arising from the 1920 mandate for South-West Africa, the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the U.N. Charter. The Ethiopian and Liberian applications relied upon the settlement of disputes provision in article 7 of the 1920 mandate and article 37 of the Court's Statute as giving jurisdiction to the Court, and referred to article 80(1) of the U.N. Charter, which provides for the continuation of the rights of existing states, of dependent peoples, and treaty obligations.

South Africa subsequently filed certain preliminary objections and thus put in issue the jurisdiction of the Court to adjudicate upon the merits of the dispute.

Exercising the right of a litigant who does not have a national as a member of the bench, Ethiopia and Liberia, acting in concert, chose Sir Louis Mbanefo, Chief Justice of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, to sit as judge *ad hoc*. South Africa chose as judge *ad hoc* the Honorable J. T. van Wyk, Judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa. Hearings before the Court on this procedural phase of the cases took place in October 1962. Among others participating in the oral proceedings were the Honorable Ernest A. Gross on behalf of Ethiopia and Liberia, and Dr. J. P. verLoren van Themaat for South Africa.

The Court delivered its decision on December 21, 1962. It ruled that it had jurisdiction to adjudicate upon the merits.

In its judgment the Court noted first that a dispute existed between the parties. The claim of one party was positively opposed by the other, as shown by the opposing attitudes of the parties concerning

the performance by South Africa as the mandatory of the obligations set forth in the mandate.

The Court then turned to an analysis of the evolution of the mandates system established by the Covenant of the League of Nations following the First World War. That system recognized certain rights of the peoples of underdeveloped territories, contemplated the establishment of a regime of tutelage for the peoples of each of these territories to be exercised by an "advanced" nation as mandatory on behalf of the League, and recognized this scheme to be a "sacred trust of civilization" upon the League and its members.

Each mandate thus constituted a new international institution having as a primary purpose the promotion of the well-being and development of the peoples of the territory under mandate. The rights of the mandatory in relation to the mandated territory were founded in the obligations of the mandatory and were merely a means to enable it to fulfill its obligations.

South Africa raised four objections to the jurisdiction of the Court. *First*, she argued that the mandate for South-West Africa had never been, or at any rate was no longer since the dissolution of the League, a treaty or convention within the meaning of article 37 of the International Court of Justice's Statute. That article provides:

Whenever a treaty or convention in force provides for reference of a matter to . . . the Permanent Court of International Justice [the predecessor to the present Court and created by the League of Nations], the matter shall, as between the parties to the present Statute, be referred to the International Court of Justice.

The Court found that the mandate, while embodied as a formal matter in a resolution adopted by the Council of the League, was an international agreement having the character of a "treaty or convention." The mandate was a special type of instrument composite in nature and constituting a novel international regime. It incorporated an agreement consisting of: the conferment and acceptance of a mandate for South-West Africa; a provisional or tentative agreement on the terms of this mandate between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers (to whom Germany had surrendered her overseas colonies at the end of the war) to be proposed to the League Council, and a formal confirmation agreement on the terms explicitly defined by the Council and agreed to between the mandatory and the Council representing the League and its members. The mandate was intended and understood to be a treaty embodying international engagements. The Court rejected South Africa's argument that the mandate was not a treaty because it had never been registered in accordance with the Covenant's strictures against secret treaties; if the mandate were null and void from the outset because of nonregistration, South

Africa would never have had any legal title for administering South-West Africa.

The essence of the first South African objection thus related to the proposition that either the mandate as a whole was no longer in force or that article 7 of the mandate was no longer in force. Article 7, paragraph 2, of the mandate provided that:

The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the Mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice. . . .

On this point, the Court reaffirmed its 1950 advisory opinion concerning the *International Status of South West Africa* in which it had unanimously held that article 7 was still in force. The Court found that, although the League and the Permanent Court had ceased to exist, the mandatory's obligation to submit to the compulsory jurisdiction of the present Court was effectively transferred to the Court prior to the dissolution of the League. Well before the dissolution of the League on April 18, 1946, the U.N. Charter had entered into force and the three states party to the present proceedings had ratified the Charter and become U.N. members. South Africa had voluntarily assumed the obligation of accepting the new Court's compulsory jurisdiction upon joining the United Nations, in view of article 37 of the Court's Statute and articles 92 and 93 of the Charter.

*Second*, South Africa asserted that the Court lacked jurisdiction because, since the dissolution of the League, there were no longer any "Members of the League," entitled to proceed against South Africa under article 7 of the mandate. The Court rejected this argument. It noted that judicial protection of the sacred trust provided by article 7 of the mandate was an essential feature of the mandates system. Recourse to the Court was in the last analysis the only effective recourse of the organized international community for insuring compliance by the mandatory with the obligations imposed by the mandate. At its last session in 1946 the League had agreed to continue the different mandates insofar as practicable notwithstanding the dissolution of the League on April 18 of that year. Some 9 days before its dissolution, the South African delegate had stated in the League Assembly that South Africa "will continue to administer the territory scrupulously in accordance with the obligations of the Mandate" and that South Africa "will . . . regard the dissolution of the League as in no way diminishing its obligations under the Mandate." South Africa had thus expressly recognized the continuing force of the mandate and article 7. And the League's final resolution



of April 18 expressly stated the unanimous agreement of the League members that all the mandates should continue to be exercised in accordance with their terms. Thus, states who were members of the League at the time of its dissolution had the right to invoke the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

*Third*, South Africa argued that the dispute brought before the Court was not a "dispute" within the meaning of article 7 of the mandate. But, the Court recalled, that provision referred to "any dispute whatever," including disputes relating to the mandatory's performance of its obligations, whether owed to the inhabitants of South-West Africa or the other members of the League, or to its obligations to submit to supervision by the League. The grant of judicial protection contained in article 7 related not only to the material interests of League members in the administration of South-West Africa but also to the well-being and development of the inhabitants. The dispute between Ethiopia and Liberia and South Africa was such a dispute.

*Fourth*, South Africa argued that, even if a dispute existed, it was not one which "cannot be settled by negotiation." The Court also dismissed this last objection. It recalled the long history of U.N. discussion of South-West Africa. The three parties to the present litigation had participated in those discussions. A deadlock on the substantive issues of the dispute had long ago been reached and had continued. The exchange of views in the United Nations was a form of diplomacy by conference or parliamentary diplomacy which, over the past four or five decades, had come to be recognized as an established mode of international negotiation. The present dispute was thus, as a factual matter, one which could not be settled by negotiation.

For all these reasons, the Court, by a vote of 8 to 7, concluded that it was competent to hear the dispute on the merits. Appended to the decision were a declaration by Judge Spiropoulos of Greece (who voted against); separate opinions by Judges Bustamante y Rivero (Peru), Jessup (U.S.), and Sir Louis Mbanefo (Nigeria); dissenting opinions by Judges Winiarski (Poland), Basdevant (France), Morelli (Italy), and van Wyk (South Africa); and a joint dissenting opinion by Judges Sir Percy Spender (Australia) and Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice (U.K.).

Judge Jessup's concurring opinion explored in greater detail a number of issues raised by the South African objections. His opinion reviewed the events by which South Africa came to be the mandatory for South-West Africa and reached the conclusion that the position of members of the League of Nations was that of third state beneficiaries of the continuing obligations contained in the mandate. The opinion also deals in depth with the nature of the dispute between the parties

and analyzes treaty engagements which in the past have specifically recognized the legal interests of states in general humanitarian causes (for example, slavery conventions, minority treaties at the end of World War I, the Constitution of the International Labor Organization (ILO), and the mandates in connection with the protection of the welfare of the inhabitants of the territories under mandate). Judge Jessup points out that a state may have a legal interest in the observance, in the territories of another state, of general welfare treaty provisions and that it may assert such an interest without at the same time alleging any impact upon its own nationals or direct so-called tangible or material interests.

*Case Concerning the Northern Cameroons (Cameroun v. United Kingdom)*

On May 30, 1961, the Republic of Cameroun instituted proceedings before the Court with reference to a dispute with the United Kingdom. This dispute referred to the former administration by the United Kingdom of the Northern Cameroons, a part of the former Trust Territory of the Cameroons under U.K. administration and now part of the Federation of Nigeria. Cameroun alleged nonfulfillment on the part of the United Kingdom of the latter's obligations under the 1946 United Kingdom-United Nations Trusteeship Agreement for the Trust Territory of the Cameroons. Cameroun relied upon a settlement of disputes provision in the 1946 Agreement as giving jurisdiction to the Court.

Subsequently, the United Kingdom filed a Counter-Memorial on the merits of the dispute together with a preliminary objection to the jurisdiction of the Court. The Court suspended proceedings on the merits and, by an order dated November 27, 1962, fixed March 1, 1963, as the time limit within which Cameroun might present a written statement of its observations and submissions on the United Kingdom preliminary objection.

*Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd. (Belgium v. Spain)*

On June 19, 1962, Belgium instituted proceedings before the Court seeking reparation from Spain for damages arising from treatment by Spanish authorities of a partly Belgian-owned Canadian corporation which had resulted in adjudication by Spanish courts of corporate bankruptcy and the subsequent liquidation of the corporation for the alleged benefit of a Spanish national. Belgium claimed that

the Court had jurisdiction by reason of article 37 of the Statute of the Court and a settlement of disputes provision in a 1927 Belgian-Spanish Agreement.

This case had originally been brought before the Court by Belgium on September 23, 1958, but had been removed by the Court from its list by an order of April 10, 1961, upon the initiative of Belgium with the concurrence of Spain. Belgium reinstituted this proceeding against Spain by reason of a failure of negotiations between those concerned.

## INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION (ILC)

The International Law Commission (ILC) was established by the second General Assembly and has as its function the progressive development of international law and its codification. The Commission is composed of 25 experts serving in their individual capacities. Herbert W. Briggs of the United States is a member of the Commission.

The Commission devoted the principal part of its 14th session to the consideration of a report on the conclusion, entry into force and registration of treaties. This report was prepared by Sir Humphrey Waldock (U.K.), special rapporteur for the topic of the law of treaties and a member of the Commission. It consists of 29 draft articles, together with extensive commentaries, and constitutes the first part of the Commission's study of the law of treaties. At its 15th session in 1963, the Commission will consider additional draft articles dealing with the validity and duration of treaties and, at a subsequent session, draft articles covering the application and effects of treaties. The Commission has not yet decided whether all the drafts should be amalgamated to form a single convention or whether the codification of the law of treaties should be dealt with in a series of related conventions.

In accordance with recommendations made in 1961 by the General Assembly, the ILC also continued its work on state responsibility and included on its priority list succession of states and governments. A good deal of controversy marked the debate on the former topic with regard to what, if any, subjects in addition to responsibility for injuries caused to aliens are properly a part of the law of state responsibility. The Commission decided to establish a subcommittee of five members, under the chairmanship of Roberto Ago (Italy), to undertake preparatory work on the general aspects of state responsibility and make recommendations regarding the scope and content of this



topic to the Commission. The Commission also established a five-member subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Manfred Lachs (Poland), to make recommendations concerning the scope of the topic of succession of states and governments. The Commission agreed to limit its future program of work for the time being primarily to these three main topics—treaties, responsibility and succession—in view of the great amount of work required to bring them to completion, and to take up four additional topics of more limited scope which the General Assembly had earlier referred to the Commission: the question of special missions; the question of relations between states and inter-governmental organizations (for which Abdullah El-Erian of the United Arab Republic was appointed special rapporteur); the right of asylum; and the juridical regime of historic waters, including historic bays.

The Commission authorized its chairman to appoint observers to the next session of the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee and the Inter-American Juridical Committee and decided to be represented at the 17th session of the General Assembly by its chairman, Dr. Radhabinod Pal (India).

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION OF LEGAL MATTERS

The agenda of the Assembly's Legal Committee at its 17th session included the following items: (1) 14th report of the ILC, (2) consular relations, (3) publication of a U.N. juridical yearbook, and (4) principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states in accordance with the U.N. Charter.

### *Report of the International Law Commission*

The report of the ILC (see page 362) was presented in the Legal Committee by the Commission's chairman, Radhabinod Pal. On October 17 the United States, together with Japan and Turkey, tabled a draft resolution by which the General Assembly would take note of the report of the Commission and express its appreciation for the Commission's work. Thereafter, Ghana, Indonesia, and the Ukrainian S.S.R. tabled a competing draft resolution which set forth a series of broad recommendations to be made by the Assembly to the Commission concerning its future work; the Commission was to be instructed to continue work on the law of treaties "based on strict respect

for the principles of the sovereign equality of States" and to adopt "a broader approach" to the codification of state responsibility, including responsibility "consequent upon the violation of the basic principles of international law relating to the maintenance of international peace and security."

The United States opposed the latter proposal for a number of reasons. First, the proposal seemed to be stimulated by doubts about the quality and amount of the Commission's work product. These doubts were inappropriate; the Commission's work was necessarily painstaking and had been marked by final texts of distinction. Second, the Commission, as a body of independent legal experts serving in individual capacities rather than as representatives of states, should not, on principle, be given broad, imprecise instructions by the General Assembly and thus have its work prejudged at a stage at which that work is only preliminary in character. Third, the specific instructions contained in the draft resolution proposed by Ghana, Indonesia, and the Ukrainian S.S.R. were objectionable; the emphasis in treaty law on sovereign equality placed undue stress upon sovereign rights to the detriment of the duties of states to fulfill treaty obligations voluntarily undertaken, and the emphasis on peace and security in connection with state responsibility attempted to force the Commission to deal with political issues of the greatest sensitivity which were beyond its competence.

As a result of these and other criticisms, the two groups of cosponsors of the competing resolutions and a number of other representatives met informally and, after extensive negotiations, produced a joint 16-power draft resolution which was subsequently adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on November 20, 1962. It recommends that the Commission continue work on the law of treaties, state responsibility and succession of states and governments, taking into account the views expressed in the Assembly's debates. The resolution comments upon the general context in which the Commission's work should proceed in a fashion that does not prejudice the substance of its work.

In the Legal Committee the United States suggested that, in order to assist the Commission in its work of strengthening the rule of law by codifying and progressively developing international law, the Commission be asked to consider extending its annual 10-week session. The United States also supported the Commission's request for funds for the meeting of the two Subcommittees on Responsibility and on Succession (see page 362) which will take place in January 1963. The Assembly acted favorably upon this suggestion.

During the debate on the Commission's draft articles on treaties, a question arose as to the participation of new states in general

multilateral treaties concluded in the past which contain provisions limiting participation to specific categories of states. Australia, Ghana, and Israel submitted a proposal dealing with multilateral treaties concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. In its revised form, their proposal would have authorized the Secretary-General to receive in deposit instruments of acceptance by new states members of the United Nations or the Specialized Agencies if the majority of states parties to the conventions did not object within 12 months from their invitation by the Secretary-General to consent to the opening of these League conventions to such extended participation. A number of representatives stressed the relationship of this question to the problem of succession of states and the consequent need for further study. As a result, the General Assembly adopted a resolution put forward in the Legal Committee by India and Indonesia. The resolution requested the ILC to devote further study to the question and to report to the General Assembly at its 18th session.

### *Consular Relations*

At its 16th session the General Assembly decided to convene an international conference of plenipotentiaries to meet at Vienna in March 1963 for the purpose of preparing one or more conventions on consular relations. The draft articles prepared by the ILC on that subject were referred to the conference as the basis of its work.

The General Assembly also decided to include the item "Consular Relations" in the provisional agenda of its 17th session in order to allow further exchange of views concerning the draft articles on consular relations. Similar exchanges of views in the General Assembly's Legal Committee had preceded other international conferences convened by the United Nations.

During the Legal Committee's consideration of this question, the United Kingdom suggested that the work of the conference would be expedited if governments could have the opportunity, prior to the conference, of studying amendments to the Commission's draft articles which participating states intended to propose. It emphasized that participating states, in giving advance notification of their amendments, would not be precluded from submitting additional amendments at the conference. At the conclusion of the discussion, the Legal Committee adopted a U.K. draft resolution encompassing this suggestion.

The draft resolution proposed by the Legal Committee was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 18, 1962.



*The Question of the Publication of a U.N. Juridical Yearbook*

The question of the publication of the U.N. juridical yearbook had been discussed in the General Assembly's Legal Committee at a number of previous sessions. During its 13th session, the General Assembly discussed this question in connection with its consideration of the report of the ILC, and requested the Secretary-General to report on the question of publishing a juridical yearbook, including the technical and financial implications of publication. At its 14th session the General Assembly decided in principle that a juridical yearbook should be published, but it limited the content of the yearbook to documentary material. This limitation accorded with the position taken by a number of U.N. members, including the United States, that the inclusion of articles by individual authors would make the yearbook a center of political controversy and would raise difficult problems regarding the selection of material for publication. At the 15th session the question of what categories of documentary material would be published was considered further, but the estimated costs of publication were considered excessive and it was decided to invite states to comment further on the proposal.

At the 17th session the General Assembly's Legal Committee decided to appoint a working group, consisting of Afghanistan, Australia, Ceylon, Chile, Ghana, Hungary, the Netherlands, Panama, Poland, United Arab Republic, and the United States, to consider what documentary material should be published and the financial aspects of publication. The working group reported back to the Legal Committee recommending the publication beginning in 1964 of the texts of certain categories of documents. It also recommended that in order to reduce publication costs, the publication include only an index of other categories of documents. As a further measure to reduce expenses, the working group recommended that the juridical yearbook be published in only the three working languages, English, French and Spanish. On the basis of this recommendation, the Legal Committee decided that the juridical yearbook should include the following: (a) documents concerning the status of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies; (b) an index to, and, where necessary, the text of decisions, recommendations, discussions, or reports of a legal character by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies; (c) the text of treaties concluded in the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, and in international conferences convoked by them; (d) an index to the decisions of the administrative tribunals of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies; (e) the text of selected legal opinions of the Secretariat of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies; (f) an index to decisions of international

and national tribunals on questions relating to the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies; and (g) a bibliography of works and articles of a legal character relating to the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

The recommendation of the Legal Committee was unanimously approved by the General Assembly on December 18, 1962.

*Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance With the Charter of the United Nations*

Two resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly in connection with principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. One of these related to a future work program for the General Assembly's Legal Committee; the other related to technical assistance in international law.

**Work Program for the Legal Committee**

Upon the recommendation of its Legal Committee, the General Assembly at its 16th session inscribed on the provisional agenda of its 17th session an item entitled: "Principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations." The title had been proposed by a number of delegations, including that of the United States, as an alternative to the formulation proposed by the U.S.S.R.: Principles of international law concerning peaceful coexistence.

The Legal Committee discussion of this item raised the question of the role of international law in the present-day world and of the Legal Committee within the U.N. system. In this context a number of delegations led by that of the U.S.S.R. asserted the desirability of formulating a code of peaceful coexistence. Some of these delegations supported the utility of such a code as a remedy for the "inadequacies" of the Charter of the United Nations. Some maintained that to reject "peaceful co-existence" was to justify the cold war and the policy of "positions of strength," which was said to endanger the maintenance of international peace. In reply, other representatives, including that of the United States, held that the Charter sets forth the fundamental rules of international conduct, and that the purposes and principles inscribed in the Charter needed no restatement and might, at this juncture in world affairs, be weakened by the process. They challenged "peaceful co-existence" as a controversial political

slogan. Senator Albert Gore, U.S. Representative in the Legal Committee, declared:

The contentious interpretations of the term "peaceful co-existence"—that, as authoritative Soviet spokesmen have made clear, it aims at the triumph of Communism throughout the world—is sufficient to destroy its utility as a topic for codification by the General Assembly. If the codification and progressive development of international law is to proceed fruitfully, every consideration of reason and comity suggests that unnecessary political controversy should be avoided. Ingenuity should suffice to find a formulation of our business which will not engender suspicions impeding the effective performance of our work. Ingenuity *did* suffice to find such a formulation at our last session. We should adhere to it. . . .

The fundamental code of state conduct is the Charter of the United Nations. The obligations stated in the Charter run the risk of being obscured or distorted by attempts to formulate a comparable code. The Charter of the United Nations is, moreover, more than a mere statement of broad rules of state conduct; it is the constitution of political organs, by which those broad rules are interpreted and applied on a case-by-case basis. This is the living, growing law of the Charter; it was by these organs that the authors of the Charter contemplated that it would be interpreted and its provisions clarified. This is in fact what has been happening since the earliest days of the Organization.

Some U.N. members also contended that the rules of customary international law are colonialist and obsolete. It was asserted that these rules lacked applicability to present world conditions, and that the General Assembly must act to formulate a new international law. Other U.N. members, including the United States, disputed this assertion, emphasizing the continuing validity of international law and the importance of faithful adherence to it by all states. They stressed the concept of "the rule of law." While affirming that international law must continue to grow and develop, they rejected the proposition that customary international law no longer effectively regulates relations between states. Thus the U.S. Representative stated:

Until very recently, Communist writings on international law seemed to take the position that only international law flowing from treaties is worthy of respect. The expressly consensual element in the formation of international law was stressed to the exclusion of other law-making processes. This approach derived from an extreme and archaic view of the sovereignty of the state, a view which, reduced to simple terms, taught that only the specific, articulated consent of the state could operate to subject the state to international law. . . . This extreme doctrinal emphasis on treaty law at the same time attempted to portray the great body of customary international law as outmoded, obsolete, colonialist, as bourgeois, creditor-oriented, and—in some sinister sense—"Western" . . . Surely we all recognize that a part of what was international law, now irrevocably dead, could not today be justified. . . . At the same time, as we jointly undertake the progressive development of international law, we must take care not to depreciate and discard that which is of value in existing international law. Today's international law, whether stemming from treaty or custom, or general principles of law, is a valuable law, responsive to the needs of states the world over, whether new or old, whether of the East or of



the West. The fact that the older states of Europe and the Americas have played a predominant role in the creation of customary international law does not mean that that law is not of universal validity and appeal. There is much in international law that flows from the mere existence of states; the content of the law has not been determined by the region of the world in which those states happen to have been located. Moreover, to the extent that international law does have a specifically Western content—a content which can easily be exaggerated—that is not necessarily occasion for apology. There is much in the tradition of Western legal thought and practice of which every man, whatever the geographical accident of his birth, can be proud.

Three draft resolutions were introduced in the Legal Committee. Czechoslovakia introduced an extended code of “peaceful co-existence.” Its draft resolution was cast as a declaration of 19 principles, with explanatory comments on each principle. A few U.N. members favored this proposal. They urged that peaceful coexistence had become a part of contemporary international law; they described the Czech resolution as based on the purposes and principles of the Charter and reflective of the main political and legal factors of relations between states. Many U.N. members, including the United States, were strongly opposed to the Czech resolution. The principles in that declaration were, in their view, so loosely phrased as to preclude its having a useful effect in regulating relations between states. While recognizing that the declaration in some measure reflected the purposes and principles of the Charter, they noted that these purposes and principles had been significantly distorted in the process of reformulation. Finally, they considered that the declaration inadequately distinguished between law and politics, with the result that many propositions were included which did not belong in a formulation of principles of present-day international law.

Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Dahomey, Denmark, Japan, Liberia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, and Tanganyika, and subsequently Colombia and Congo (Léopoldville), introduced a draft resolution affirming the importance of the rule of law in international relations and the primacy of the Charter as the fundamental statement of principles of international law governing friendly relations and cooperation among states. The draft resolution also provided that the General Assembly would decide to consider and, accordingly, to inscribe on the provisional agenda of its 18th session certain questions of international law of immediate and universal concern, the obligation to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of states, and the obligation to settle disputes by peaceful means. Member states would be invited to communicate written comments on those questions, and to suggest additional topics within the field of friendly relations and cooperation among states for consideration by the General Assembly at subsequent sessions.

The United States fully supported this draft resolution because it considered that it embodied a constructive approach to the problem of developing and articulating principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states in accordance with the Charter. Clarification and elaboration of the subjects proposed for study would contribute significantly to the maintenance of friendly relations and cooperation among states. It avoided the diffusion of effort inherent in the study of a large number of topics, as well as the imprudence of proclaiming rules of international law without serious prior study. The draft resolution's emphasis on the rule of law in international relations and the primacy of the Charter of the United Nations prescribing the norms of state conduct obviously placed future study of legal principles in the correct context.

Some U.N. members, on the other hand, criticized this resolution as too limited in scope. They favored study in the Legal Committee of other topics such as decolonization, respect for human rights, equality of states, and faithful observance of treaties. They objected to the emphasis on the rule of law, asserting that the "rule of law" is an Anglo-Saxon legal concept not found in other legal systems. Accordingly, they alleged that it would be inappropriate to apply that concept to international law or to make it a central point of a General Assembly resolution.

Afghanistan, Algeria, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Mali, Morocco, Somalia, Syria, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia proposed a third draft resolution. This draft resolution was put forward as a compromise between the Czech and the 14-power draft resolutions. It stated six principles as fundamental to relations between states: (1) abstention from the threat or use of force; (2) settlement of international disputes and differences by negotiation and other peaceful means; (3) cooperation in all spheres of international relations; (4) the right of peoples to self-determination; (5) the right of states to sovereign equality, including the duty to refrain from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of any state; and (6) the duty of states to respect and carry out their obligations under treaties and other sources of international law in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. This draft resolution also provided that the General Assembly would decide to undertake further study and elaboration of these principles at its 18th session and to invite states to submit any views or suggestions they might have on this question to the Secretary-General.

This resolution was criticized on the grounds that it ignored the importance of the rule of law in international relations and gave inadequate emphasis to the Charter. They noted that the principles

stated, where based on the Charter, distorted the import of its provisions. Certain U.N. members also disputed the utility of sweeping declarations purporting to recite international law, as law. The United States shared these views. In commenting on this draft resolution shortly after its introduction, the U.S. Representative, while noting that it avoided some of the faults of the Czech draft resolution, observed:

It does not, among other disabilities, adequately recognize the central position of the United Nations Charter as the fundamental statement of legal rules relating to friendly relations and cooperation among States. . . . A number of provisions of this resolution appear to depart significantly, and unfortunately, from the Charter's provisions.

At the suggestion of the Committee chairman and in response to the urgings of many representatives, the representatives of the co-sponsors of all three draft resolutions met to prepare a single, compromise draft resolution. During protracted negotiations a compromise resolution was evolved and subsequently was sponsored by 37 members. This draft resolution recognized the paramount importance, in the progressive development of international law and in the promotion of the rule of law among nations, of certain principles of international law embodied in the Charter, which it recognized as the fundamental statement of these principles. As listed in the resolution, these principles were: (a) the principle that states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations; (b) the principle that states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice are not endangered; (c) the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the Charter; (d) the duty of states to cooperate with one another in accordance with the Charter; (e) the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; (f) the principle of the sovereign equality of states; (g) the principle that states shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter. The draft resolution requested the inclusion on the provisional agenda of the General Assembly's 18th session the topic "Consideration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance With the Charter of the United Nations" in order to study the first four of the principles listed and to decide what other principles were to be given further consideration. Finally, it invited member states to transmit their written comments on these items to



the Secretary-General. This resolution was adopted without objection in the Legal Committee and was unanimously adopted in the General Assembly on December 18, 1962.

### Technical Assistance

Ghana and Ireland submitted a draft resolution by which the General Assembly would urge member states to undertake broad programs of training in international law, and would request the Secretary-General, in conjunction with the Director General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and in consultation with member states, to study ways in which members could be aided in developing such programs. The Secretary-General was to report the results of his study to the General Assembly at its 18th session. The cosponsors emphasized that the essence of their proposal was a study of needs and means of satisfying them; the determination of a program to satisfy these needs, through the U.N. system and other channels, would be made at subsequent sessions of the General Assembly.

The proposal attracted very wide support, but several amendments, the effect of which was to broaden the focus of survey, were proposed and adopted. The resolution urges member states to undertake broad programs of training including seminars, grants and exchanges of teachers, students and fellowships as well as exchanges of publications in the field of international law; and requests the Secretary-General, in conjunction with the Director General of UNESCO and in consultation with member states, to study ways in which members could be aided, through the U.N. system and other channels, in establishing and developing such programs, including in this context the possibility of proclaiming a United Nations Decade of International Law. The results of this study will be before the General Assembly at its 18th session, when it considers the agenda item: "Technical assistance to promote the teaching, study, dissemination, and wider appreciation of international law: report of the Secretary-General with a view to the strengthening of the practical application of international law."

While the United States would have preferred the original formulation of this resolution, it supported the resolution in its amended form, which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on December 18, 1962.

## *Budgetary, Financial and Administrative Matters*

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The 17th General Assembly adopted two measures of critical importance to the financial stability of the United Nations and its ability to preserve the peace. In accepting an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the first resolution provided a sound basis for collecting overdue assessments for the U.N. operations in the Congo (UNOC) and the Middle East (United Nations Emergency Force—UNEF). The second resolution established a Working Group of 21 to study and make recommendations on the financing of these two peacekeeping operations in the future. The United States played an instrumental role in sponsoring these measures and in rallying support for their approval despite strong Soviet bloc and French opposition.

These actions were important implementing steps of a three-pronged strategy to resolve the financial problem of the United Nations which in large part stemmed from the extraordinary expenses of UNOC and UNEF. Set in motion by the previous session, this strategy sought (1) to deal with accumulated arrearages; (2) to set up an interim financing device; and (3) to develop methods of future financing.

An increase of the Working Capital Fund from \$25 million to \$40 million was a subsidiary but nevertheless significant step taken by the Assembly to strengthen the financial structure of the United Nations.

The Assembly voted a record total net budget for 1963 of \$89,406,446, an increase of about \$15 million over that of 1962. This figure does not include funds for either UNEF or UNOC, both of which continued to be carried in accounts separate from the regular budget. The Assembly also provided the Secretary-General with new guidelines to aid him in achieving an equitable distribution of posts in the Secretariat among nationals of member states. At the same time, these guidelines provide the Secretary-General with wide discretion in appointments, thus permitting the integrity of the Secretariat to be maintained.

## BUDGETS

The United Nations and the nine Specialized Agencies adopted assessment budgets for 1963 amounting to a total of \$177,932,101. The comparable figure for 1962 was \$148,361,860. The overall rise in these budgets for 1963 stemmed from program expansion and higher operating costs.

### *United Nations Budget*

On December 20, 1962, the Assembly adopted the 1963 gross budget for the United Nations amounting to \$93,911,050. When account is taken of supplemental appropriations (\$3,673,480) for 1962, which must be added to the gross budget, and various deductions (\$8,178,084) for items such as miscellaneous income are made, the assessment budget for 1963 is reduced to \$89,406,446. This represents an increase of \$15,282,329 over 1962.

Much of the additional outlay of the 1963 budget covers expenditures connected with (1) the amortization and interest on U.N. bonds; (2) expanded operations relating to the Decade of Development (behind which the United States was the initiating force—see pages 188–191); (3) the supplemental appropriations for 1962; and (4) special conferences, especially the Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas (see pages 287–289).

In an action which establishes a more rational relationship between the present budgetary level and the need for reserves, the Assembly increased the Working Capital Fund from \$25 million to \$40 million. Although the Working Capital Fund is used primarily to cover expenses of the Organization pending the receipt of contributions, the Secretary-General is authorized to draw on this Fund for certain other specified purposes, including “unforeseen and extraordinary expenses.” The United States strongly supported this action as it places the United Nations in a better position to carry out promptly the executive responsibilities assigned to it.

### *Specialized Agencies Budgets*

The 1963 assessment budgets for all the Specialized Agencies amount to a total of \$88,525,655, or an increase of \$14,287,912 over 1962. As already noted, expansion of program activities, both in



depth and scope, is one of the primary causes for this climb in expenditure. The increase of over \$2 million in the budget of the International Labor Organization (ILO), for example, is largely attributable to expansion of technical assistance activities including vocational training, management, development, and rural development (see page 273). In the case of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), sizable increases in developmental education programs in less developed countries account for much of the rise of approximately \$3 million in its budget (see pages 277-280).

The salient single factor in the increase of \$6,736,250 in the assessment budget for the World Health Organization (WHO) is the absorption into the regular budget of the second increment of \$2 million for the worldwide malaria eradication campaign, undertaken on the basis of a resolution initiated by the United States (see page 269). The increase in the budget of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) stems in large part from an expansion of activities in the fields of meteorological satellites and meteorological training (see page 294).

In all these organizations, budget expansion also represents increased costs resulting from the application of the U.N. salary review recommendations for the internationally recruited staff for which provision was not made in the 1962 budget although the increase became effective in January 1962.

The comparative assessments upon member governments for carrying out the activities of the Specialized Agencies during calendar years 1962 and 1963 are shown in the following table:

<i>Specialized Agency</i>	<i>1962</i>	<i>1963</i>
Food and Agriculture Organization . . . . .	\$14,340,000	\$14,340,000
International Civil Aviation Organization . . . . .	4,083,000	4,663,234
International Labor Organization . . . . .	11,115,438	14,006,834
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization . . . . .	466,250	412,900
International Telecommunication Union . . . . .	2,929,567	3,622,425
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization . . . . .	15,548,580	18,414,500
Universal Postal Union . . . . .	918,820	1,286,836
World Health Organization . . . . .	24,148,320	30,884,570
World Meteorological Organization . . . . .	687,768	894,355
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>74,237,743</b>	<b>88,525,655</b>

## ASSESSMENTS (United Nations and Specialized Agencies)

The United States assessed shares of the budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies are listed below:

	1962	1963
	Percent	Percent
United Nations . . . . .	32.02	32.02
Food and Agriculture Organization . . . . .	32.02	32.02
International Civil Aviation Organization . . . . .	32.14	31.80
International Labor Organization . . . . .	25.00	25.00
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization . . . . .	15.82	15.82
International Telecommunication Union . . . . .	10.10	10.09
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization . . . . .	31.46	30.56
Universal Postal Union . . . . .	4.21	4.21
World Health Organization . . . . .	31.71	31.12
World Meteorological Organization . . . . .	19.03	18.91

## U.N. PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS (UNEF AND UNOC)

The first part of the 16th General Assembly, which met in the fall of 1961, passed resolutions to continue peacekeeping operations and made arrangements for the financial support of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and the United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC) for the first 6 months of 1962. For the 6-month period of January 1-June 30, 1962, \$9,750,000 applied to UNEF. For the period November 1961 to June 30, 1962, \$80 million applied to UNOC. No funds were assessed by the United Nations to pay for the ongoing costs of the UNEF and Congo operation incurred after June 30, 1962.

From July 1, 1962, the United Nations financed the UNEF and Congo military costs from the proceeds of the bond issue authorized in 1961 by the 16th General Assembly, which is repayable in 25 years at 2 percent interest. The U.S. share of the annual repayment cost is 32.02 percent. The Assembly established a Working Group of 21 (see page 379) to study and make recommendations on financing procedures to cover UNEF and Congo expenses beyond July 1, 1963.

By a vote of 76 (U.S.) to 11, with 8 abstentions, the 17th General Assembly on December 20 authorized the Secretary-General to expend for the continuing cost of the UNEF until June 30, 1963, at an average monthly rate not to exceed \$1,580,000.

By a vote of 75 (U.S.) to 12, with 13 abstentions, the 17th General Assembly authorized the Secretary-General to expend until June 30, 1963, for the continuing cost of the U.N. Operation in the Congo at an average monthly rate not to exceed \$10 million.

## UNITED NATIONS FUND FOR THE CONGO

On September 20, 1960, the Secretary-General appealed to all member governments for urgent voluntary contributions to a U.N. Fund for the Congo to be used under U.N. control in order to provide economic assistance to the Congo. As of December 31, 1962, 21 member governments of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies had pledged to the Congo Fund a total of \$44,008,155, of which \$27,950,000 was contributed by the United States. Contributions to the Fund are used to finance imports into the Congo and to cover the cost of the U.N. technical assistance program in the Congo. Proceeds from the sale of imports financed by these funds are used for budget aid and for public works programs.

Total economic assistance to the Congo (Léopoldville) from all countries, including aid supplied through bilateral as well as multilateral channels, has averaged over \$100 million annually. One of the principal contributors, Belgium, has made all of its assistance available on a direct bilateral basis. The United States, on the other hand, has channeled almost all of its assistance through the United Nations. U.S. economic assistance to the Congo (Léopoldville) through the United Nations and bilaterally has amounted to approximately 60 percent of the total economic assistance rendered by all countries.

## UNITED NATIONS BOND ISSUE

On October 2, 1962, the Congress authorized the United States to loan up to \$100 million to the United Nations on the condition that the total amount not exceed the aggregate amount of loans made by other nations. This action followed that taken by the 16th General Assembly in 1961 giving the Secretary-General authority to issue \$200 million worth of U.N. bonds repayable over a 25-year period at 2 percent interest out of the funds provided in the regular U.N. budget. The bond issue, one of a series of measures designed to deal with U.N.



financial problems, fills the role of an interim device to finance the costs of the U.N. peacekeeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East for the period after June 30, 1962.

At the close of 1962, 39 nations had purchased a total of \$120,955,680 in bonds. Of this total, the United States bought \$59,672,840. In addition, publicly announced pledges to purchase \$13,105,257 have been made by 20 nations. Purchases and pledges together, made by 59 nations, total \$148,776,194.

## ADVISORY COURT OPINION ON ARREARAGES

The General Assembly accepted by a vote of 76 (U.S.) to 17 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Jordan, Outer Mongolia, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R.), with 8 (Algeria, Belgium, Chad, Iraq, Spain, Sudan, U.A.R., and Yugoslavia) abstentions, an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) that costs incurred in the Congo and the Middle East operations were "expenses of the Organization." The effect of this opinion, which had been requested by the 16th General Assembly, was to make it clear that the assessments levied to pay for them constituted binding legal obligations on the members. Delivered on July 20, 1962, the opinion related to past assessments for the costs of the two operations through June 30, 1962. (See page 350.)

Acceptance of the advisory opinion by an overwhelming majority of the Assembly established a firm legal basis for collecting arrearages on peacekeeping assessments and for considering those arrearages to be within the scope of article 19 of the Charter. Article 19 provides for the suspension of a member's vote in the Assembly when the amount a member owes on its financial contributions "equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years." Amounts owed for the regular budget, for UNEF and for the Congo will now be considered in the computation under article 19 as arrears in the required payments.

The statement of the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Philip M. Klutznick, during the Assembly debates illustrates the measure of importance attached by the United States to the Assembly's acceptance of the advisory opinion. He said:

The issue before us raises questions of a fundamental character: the role and the rule of international law; the standing of the International Court of Justice and the relation of this Assembly to that Court; and the financial integrity of

this Organization—with all it implies for the continued existence and effectiveness of the United Nations.

In elaboration of these views, the U.S. Representative stated that even if some members disagreed with the opinion of the Court, “. . . there is no sound path open to us but to act in accordance with the law as the competent body finds the law to be. This is the essence of our relationship to one another. If we leave the moorings of the law we can only lose ourselves in the swift currents where power alone dominates.” Recalling the past practice of the Assembly with respect to advisory opinions of the Court, he noted that the Assembly had followed the Court’s opinion, either expressly or tacitly, in each of the nine previous cases.

Even if it were possible to overlook the legal effects and implications of the Court’s opinion, failure to accept the opinion could paralyze the Organization and threaten its appropriate role in keeping the peace, the U.S. Representative asserted. Specifically, he pointed out:

The Court’s opinion concerns only past assessments. But the possibility of the Organization having the capacity collectively, by whatever kind of assessment, to finance operations that preserve the peace is indispensable to its purpose of saving “succeeding generations from the scourge of war.” The possibility of the Organization paying for peacekeeping—its primary purpose—is too important to belabor. If it had lacked this capacity in the past, it can be fairly said that the Organization might not have seen this day or else would have existed as a discredited vehicle of vehement debate alone. Its future would be unpromising indeed.

The U.S.S.R. and other members of the Soviet bloc were prominent in the small group which opposed the Court’s opinion. The bloc reiterated the positions to which they have adhered since the UNEF and Congo operations were undertaken. The Soviet Union characterized the decision of the Court as invalid on the grounds that the UNEF and Congo operations were instituted and carried out in violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

## WORKING GROUP OF TWENTY-ONE (Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations)

In its effort to develop fundamental solutions to the problem of future financing of peacekeeping operations of the United Nations involving heavy expenditures, such as those for the Congo and the Middle East, the Assembly reestablished the Working Group on the

Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations. Originally established by the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly in April 1961, the 16th General Assembly increased its membership to 21 by the addition of six members. This measure, supported by the United States, passed by a wide majority. The vote was 78 (U.S.) to 14, with 4 abstentions. In addition to the original 15 members (Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, France, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., the U.K., and the U.S.), Argentina, Australia, Cameroon, Mongolia, Netherlands, and Pakistan were added to serve on the Working Group of 21.

The Assembly instructed the Working Group to submit its report with the least possible delay and, in any case, not later than March 31, 1963. A special session of the Assembly will then be convened during the first half of 1963 in order to act on the recommendations of this report. Differences of opinion on the legality of the financial obligations of members with respect to costs of the Congo and Middle East operations had played a salient role in the inability of the original Working Group of 15 to reach a sufficient area of agreement to make any recommendations on future cost-sharing formulas.

## VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS

A number of major U.N. programs are financed by voluntary contributions by member nations rather than by regular assessments on all the members. Among these are (1) the U.N. Expanded Technical Assistance Program (ETAP—see page 195) and the Special Fund (see page 197); (2) the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA—see page 156); (3) the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF—see page 264); and (4) the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Programs (UNHCR—see page 258).

In 1962 total government contributions and pledges to ETAP and the Special Fund, for which the combined annual goal is set at \$150 million, amounted to about \$112 million—\$49 million was contributed to ETAP and \$62.8 million was contributed to the Special Fund by all member governments. This figure is expected to exceed \$125 million in 1963. The United States contributes 40 percent of total government contributions to these programs on a matching basis. For 1962 this amounted to over \$44 million.

During 1962 UNICEF received total contributions from governments and private sources of \$27.4 million, of which \$12 million came from the United States. Government contributions to UNRWA for



1962 amounted to \$34.2 million, of which \$24.7 million was pledged by the United States. Of the U.S. contribution \$6.8 million was in the form of Public Law 480 surplus foods. In addition contributions were received by UNRWA from private sources. The UNHCR received over \$3.6 million from governments, including \$1.2 million from the United States for the 1962 program. Again this income was considerably augmented by private contributions.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE SECRETARIAT

Based on the recommendations of a report submitted by the Secretary-General, the General Assembly agreed on principles to guide the Secretary-General in achieving an equitable geographical distribution (i.e., distribution of posts among nationals of member states) of the professional posts in the Secretariat. The resolution on this matter passed by a vote of 76 (U.S.) to 11, with 2 abstentions. By calling for an improvement in geographical distribution, by acknowledging that efficiency, competence, and integrity were, as spelled out in the Charter, the paramount considerations in employment of staff, and by leaving the Secretary-General with wide discretion in appointments, the resolution met the overall objectives of the United States on this question. These objectives were spelled out in the Administrative and Budgetary (Fifth) Committee November 23 in a statement by the U.S. Representative, Senator Gordon Allott:

My Government is on record, throughout the debates on this important matter, as supporting actions by the Secretary-General which will increase the geographical distribution of the Secretariat. At the same time, I would repeat that we have always requested the members of this body to keep in mind paramount considerations set forth in Article 101(3) [concerning the standards and geographical distribution of the U.N. staff] of the Charter. The members of this organization are well aware of the critical issues which have involved the United Nations Secretariat in the past, which require its effective participation in present day negotiations and which may test its capacity in the future. Successful performance of the U.N.'s peacekeeping and nationbuilding operations depends in large degree on the capabilities of the Secretariat. All of us, and the causes for which this organization stands, will benefit by our constant awareness of the precepts which Article 101 of the Charter sets as a requirement.

As part of its insistence that geographical distribution be a means of promoting, not interfering, with efficiency, competence and integrity of staff, my Government has attached major importance to preserving the Secretary-General's flexibility in staffing the Secretariat. The United States, therefore, has emphasized the danger of rigid mathematical formulae and a too-explicit spelling out of the elements the Secretary-General should take into consideration.

Among the guidelines which the resolution set forth for the Secretary-General, first place was accorded to the principle that an equitable geographical distribution should take account of such factors as membership, members' contribution to the United Nations' assessment budget and population. With respect to the factor of population the Secretary-General's report had proposed that about 100 posts be distributed, in the nature of a "corrective" action, among populous countries where low per capita income results in a downward adjustment in their budget contribution. In explanation of our favorable vote for the resolution, the U.S. Representative made clear that it was only as a "corrective" in this particular situation that the United States considered population in any way relevant to the question of equitable geographical distribution.

The resolution also listed the following considerations as pertinent in achieving equitable geographical distribution: (1) the relative importance of posts at different levels; (2) the need for more balanced regional representation in senior posts; and (3) the need, when making career appointments, to take particular account of the nationals of those countries now underrepresented in the Secretariat.

The Soviet Representative centered his objection to the resolution on its failure significantly to limit career appointments. Any changes in staff stemming from that resolution, he alleged, would be made at the expense of the socialist countries which were represented on the Secretariat only on the basis of fixed-term contracts.

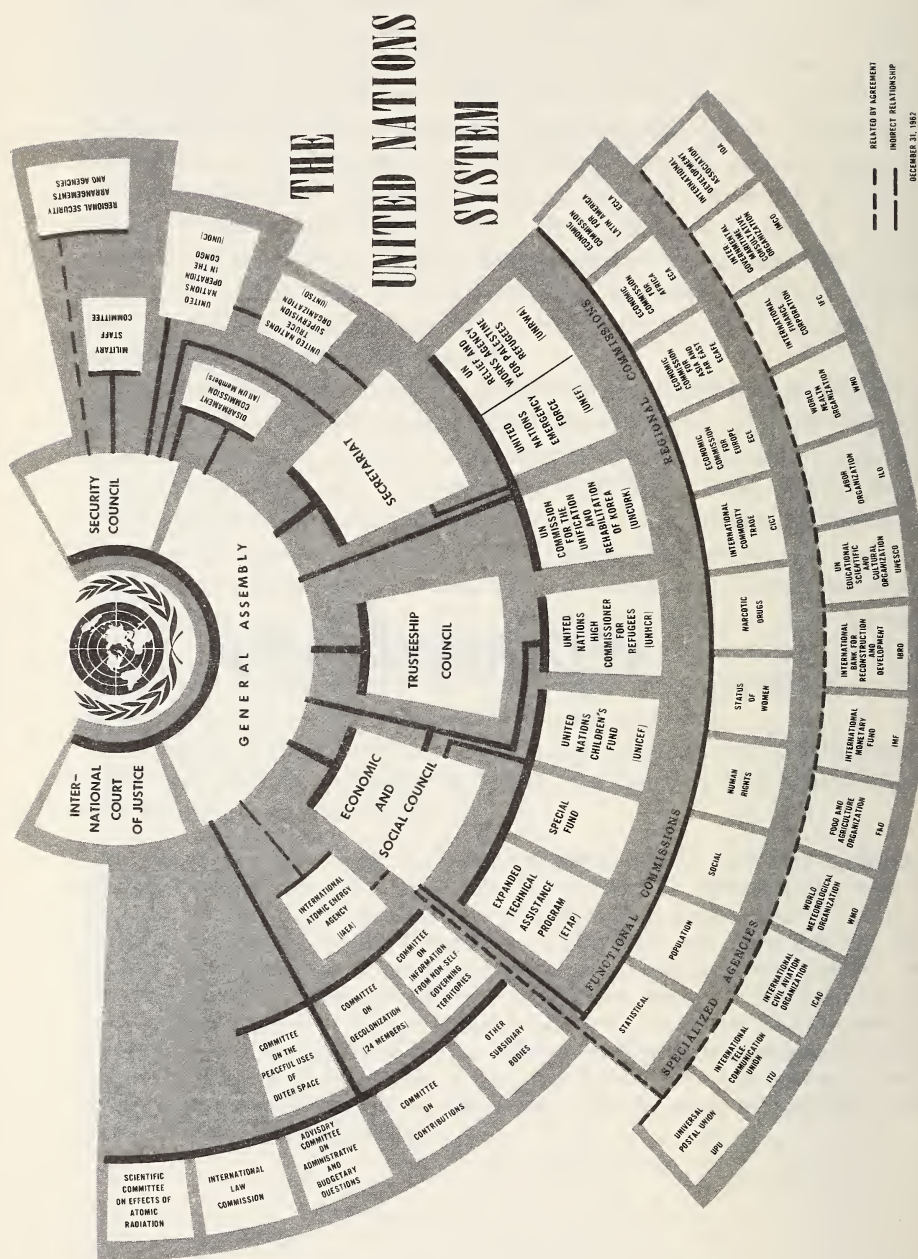
During debates in the Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the U.S. Representative outlined the U.S. position on fixed-term vs. career appointments as follows:

At this session we expect that some proposals will be made for a sizeable increase in fixed-term appointments in the Secretariat. Some of this will be made in good faith in a sincere effort to facilitate an improvement in the geographical distribution in the Secretariat. Other proposals along this line will have as their object the destruction of a career international Secretariat. We sympathize with proposals of the first type—those designed to increase fixed-term appointments in a limited amount and for a temporary period—and are prepared to join in recommending an increase in fixed-term appointments to 25 percent of total staff for a five- to ten-year period. We are opposed to any proposal designed to destroy, or which will have the effect of destroying, the career international Secretariat.



# *appendixes*





## *The United Nations*

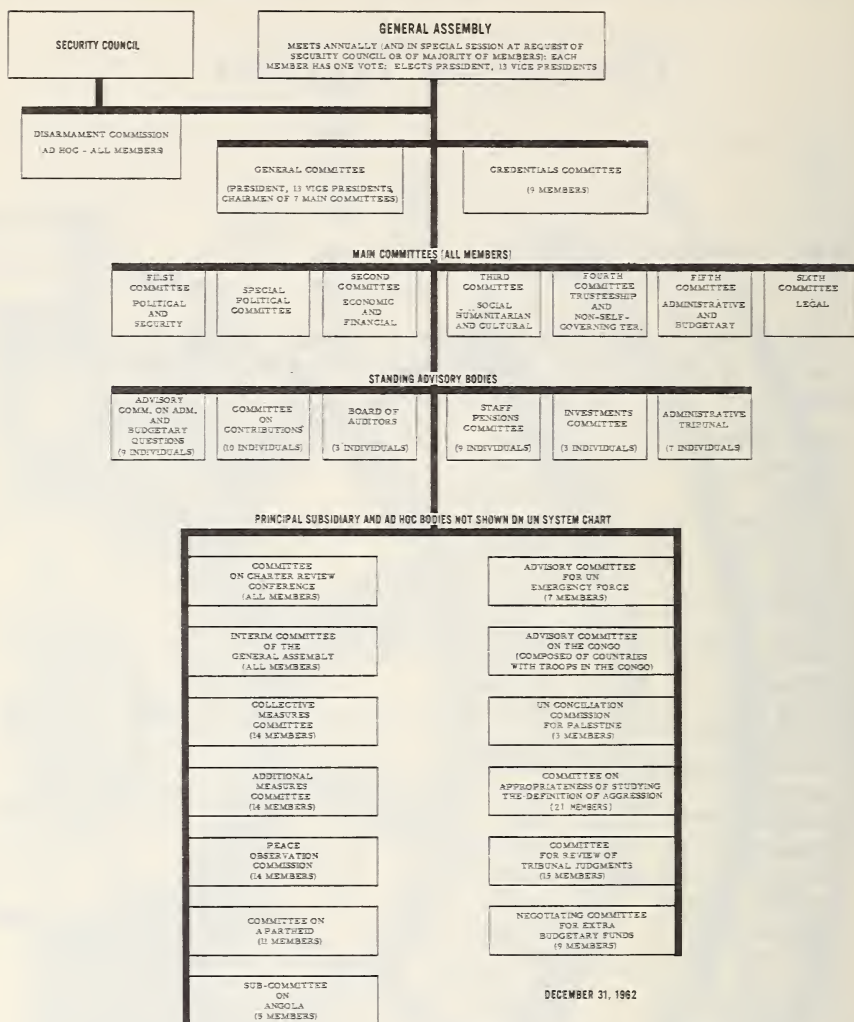
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### THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 110 members are represented. These are listed below:

Afghanistan	Ghana	Norway
Albania	Greece	Pakistan
Algeria	Guatemala	Panama
Argentina	Guinea	Paraguay
Australia	Haiti	Peru
Austria	Honduras	Philippines
Belgium	Hungary	Poland
Bolivia	Iceland	Portugal
Brazil	India	Rumania
Bulgaria	Indonesia	Rwanda
Burma	Iran	Saudi Arabia
Burundi	Iraq	Senegal
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Ireland	Sierra Leone
Cambodia	Israel	Somali Republic
Cameroon	Italy	South Africa, Republic of
Canada	Ivory Coast	Spain
Central African Republic	Jamaica	Sudan
Ceylon	Japan	Sweden
Chad	Jordan	Syrian Arab Republic
Chile	Laos	Tanganyika
China	Lebanon	Thailand
Colombia	Liberia	Togo
Congo (Brazzaville)	Libya	Trinidad and Tobago
Congo (Léopoldville)	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Costa Rica	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
Cuba	Malaya	Uganda
Cyprus	Mali	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Mauritania	U.S.S.R.
Dahomey	Mexico	United Arab Republic
Denmark	Mongolia	United Kingdom
Dominican Republic	Morocco	United States
Ecuador	Nepal	Upper Volta
El Salvador	Netherlands	Uruguay
Ethiopia	New Zealand	Venezuela
Finland	Nicaragua	Yemen
France	Niger	Yugoslavia
Gabon	Nigeria	

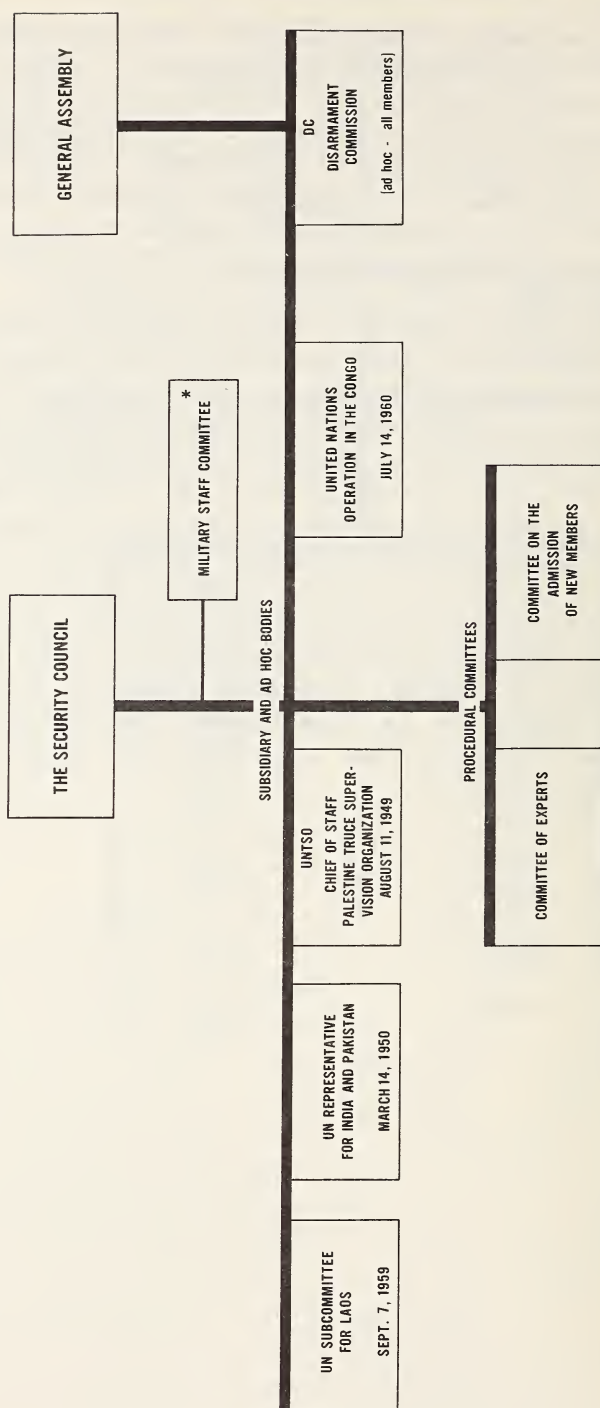
## REPORT ON THE UNITED NATIONS: 1962





The 16th regular session of the U.N. General Assembly, which had convened at New York on September 19 and recessed on December 20, 1961, held two resumed sessions in 1962. The second part of the 16th session convened in New York on January 15, 1962, and recessed on February 23, 1962. The third part of the 16th session was also held in New York and met from June 7 to 28, 1962. The officers and committee chairmen of the two resumed sessions remained the same as for the regular session of the 16th General Assembly. The President was Mongi Slim (Tunisia).

The 17th regular session of the U.N. General Assembly convened at New York on September 18, 1962, and concluded on December 20, 1962. The 17th Assembly elected Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) President and the chiefs of the delegations of Australia, Belgium, China, Colombia, France, Guinea, Haiti, Jordan, Malagasy Republic, Rumania, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States as the 13 Vice Presidents. The chairmen of the seven main committees were: Omar Abdel Hamid Adeel (Sudan), Political and Security; Dr. Leopoldo Benitez (Ecuador), Special Political Committee; Bohdan Lewandowski (Poland), Economic and Financial; Nemi Chandra Kasliwal (India), Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural; Col. Guillermo Flores Avendano (Guatemala), Trusteeship (including Non-Self-Governing Territories); Dr. Jan Paul Bannier (Netherlands), Administrative and Budgetary; and Constantine Th. Eustathiades (Greece), Legal.



\* COMPOSED OF CHIEFS OF STAFF OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

DECEMBER 31, 1962

## THE SECURITY COUNCIL

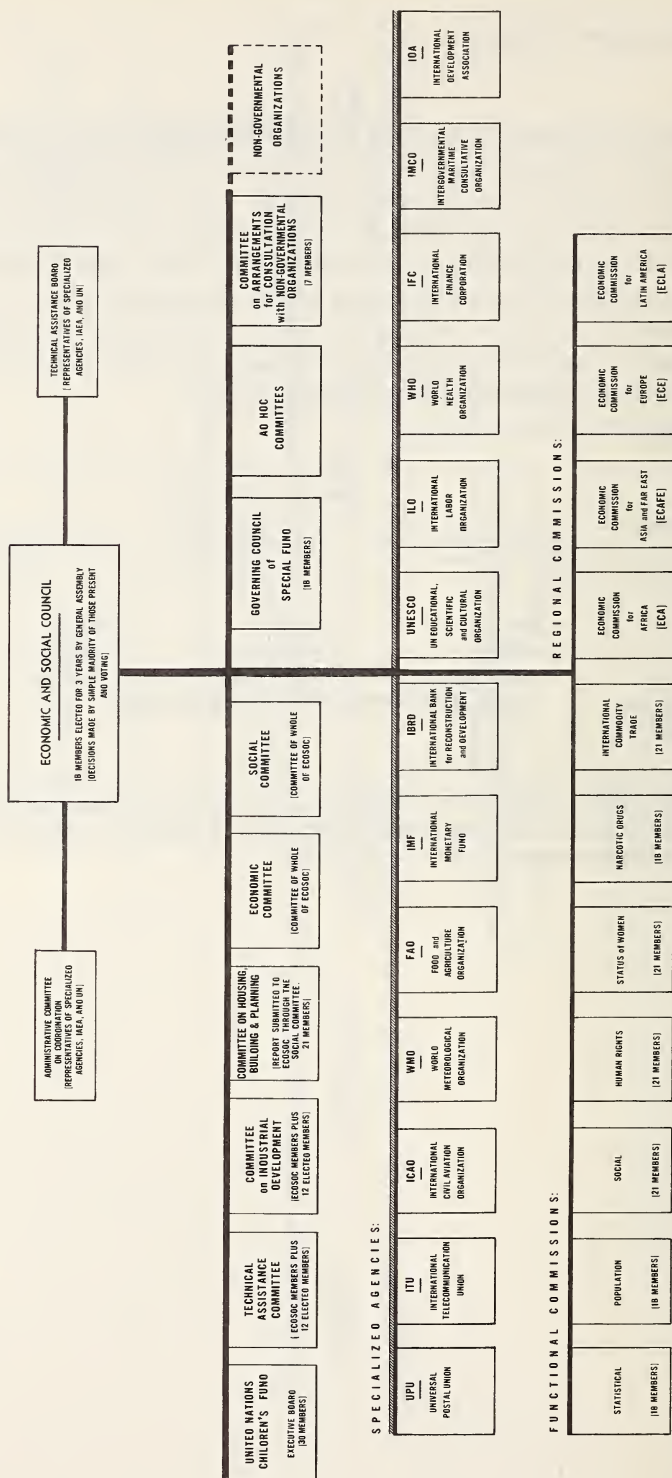
The Security Council consists of 11 members of the United Nations, five of which—China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States—have permanent status. The remaining six are elected for 2-year terms by the General Assembly, taking into account article 23 of the U.N. Charter to the effect that “due regard” shall be paid to the contribution of members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations and to equitable geographic distribution. The nonpermanent members are not eligible for immediate reelection.

The membership is as follows:

Permanent members	Nonpermanent members		
	Term expired Dec. 31, 1962	Term expires Dec. 31, 1963	Term expires Dec. 31, 1964
China France U.S.S.R. United Kingdom United States	Chile Ireland United Arab Republic	Ghana Philippines <sup>1</sup> Venezuela	Brazil Morocco Norway

<sup>1</sup> Elected in 1962, pursuant to a 16th General Assembly understanding that the Philippines is to succeed Rumania for the remainder of the term (1963) to which the latter had been elected in 1961.





DECEMBER 31, 1962

CONSULTATIVE STATUS

RELATED BY AGREEMENT

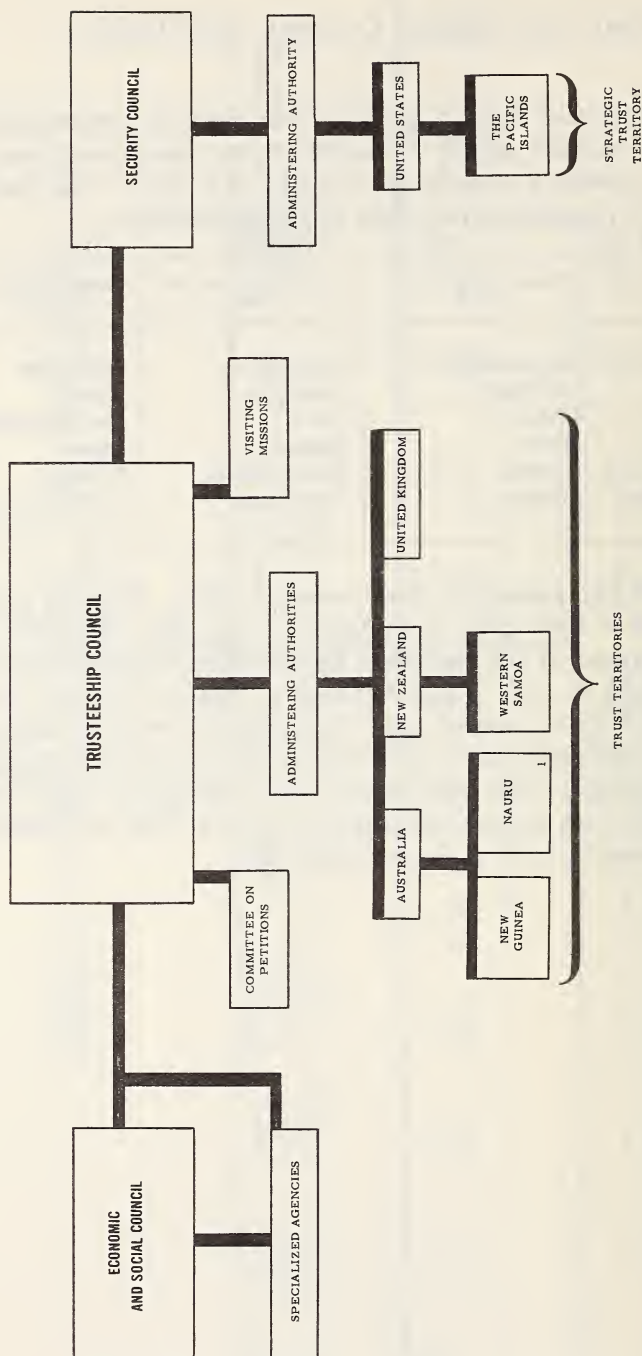
DIRECTLY DEPENDENT ON ECOSOC

## THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (ECOSOC)

The Economic and Social Council is composed of 1 representative each from 18 member states, 6 countries being elected each year by the General Assembly to serve for a period of 3 years. The Council is composed of representatives of the following countries:

Term expired Dec. 31, 1962	Term expires Dec. 31, 1963	Term expires Dec. 31, 1964	Term expires Dec. 31, 1965
Brazil Denmark Japan Poland U.S.S.R. United Kingdom	El Salvador Ethiopia France Italy Jordan Uruguay	Australia Colombia India Senegal United States Yugoslavia	Argentina Austria Czechoslovakia Japan U.S.S.R. United Kingdom

There were two sessions of the Council in 1962. The 33d session was convened at New York from April 3 to 18, 1962. The 34th session was convened at the European headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva on July 3 and recessed on August 3, 1962. At the first meeting of its 33d session the Council elected Jerzy Michalowski (Poland) President and Alfonso Patiño (Colombia) and Muhammed El-Farra (Jordan) First and Second Vice Presidents, respectively for 1962. The 34th session was resumed in New York on December 18 and concluded its work on December 20, 1962.



1. Administered by Australia on behalf of Australia, New Zealand, and United Kingdom as joint administering authorities.



## THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council consists of all U.N. members administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council not administering trust territories, and as many other elected U.N. members not administering trust territories as are required to insure that the total number of members of the Council is equally divided between nations that administer trust territories and those that do not. The elected members serve for a term of 3 years.

At the beginning of 1962 the Council comprised 10 members. With the accession to independence of the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi on July 1, 1962, Belgium no longer administered a trust territory and, in consequence, ceased to be a member of the Trusteeship Council. Upon the expiration of the terms of Bolivia and India at the end of 1962 and the election of Liberia to serve through 1965, the Council's membership at the beginning of 1963 will be balanced with four administering and four nonadministering members.

## Members Administering Trust Territories

Australia	United Kingdom	United States
New Zealand		

## Permanent Members of Security Council Not Administering Trust Territories

China	France	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
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## Members Elected by the General Assembly

Bolivia (through 1962)	India (through 1962)	Liberia (through 1965)
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## THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ)

*Seat of the Court: The Hague**President: B. Winarski**Vice President: R. J. Alfaro**Registrar: M. J. Garnier-Coignet (France)*

Members	Country	Term expires
R. J. Alfaro . . . . .	Panama . . . . .	1964
A. H. Badawi . . . . .	U.A.R. . . . .	1967
J. Basdevant . . . . .	France . . . . .	1964
R. Córdova . . . . .	Mexico . . . . .	1964
Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice . . . . .	United Kingdom . . . . .	1964
P. C. Jessup . . . . .	United States . . . . .	1970
V. K. Wellington Koo . . . . .	China . . . . .	1967
V. M. Koretsky . . . . .	U.S.S.R. . . . .	1970
G. Morelli . . . . .	Italy . . . . .	1970
L. M. Moreno Quintana . . . . .	Argentina . . . . .	1964
J. L. Bustamante y Rivero . . . . .	Peru . . . . .	1970
Sir Percy Spender . . . . .	Australia . . . . .	1967
J. Spiropoulos . . . . .	Greece . . . . .	1967
K. Tanaka . . . . .	Japan . . . . .	1970
B. Winarski . . . . .	Poland . . . . .	1967

## THE SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS

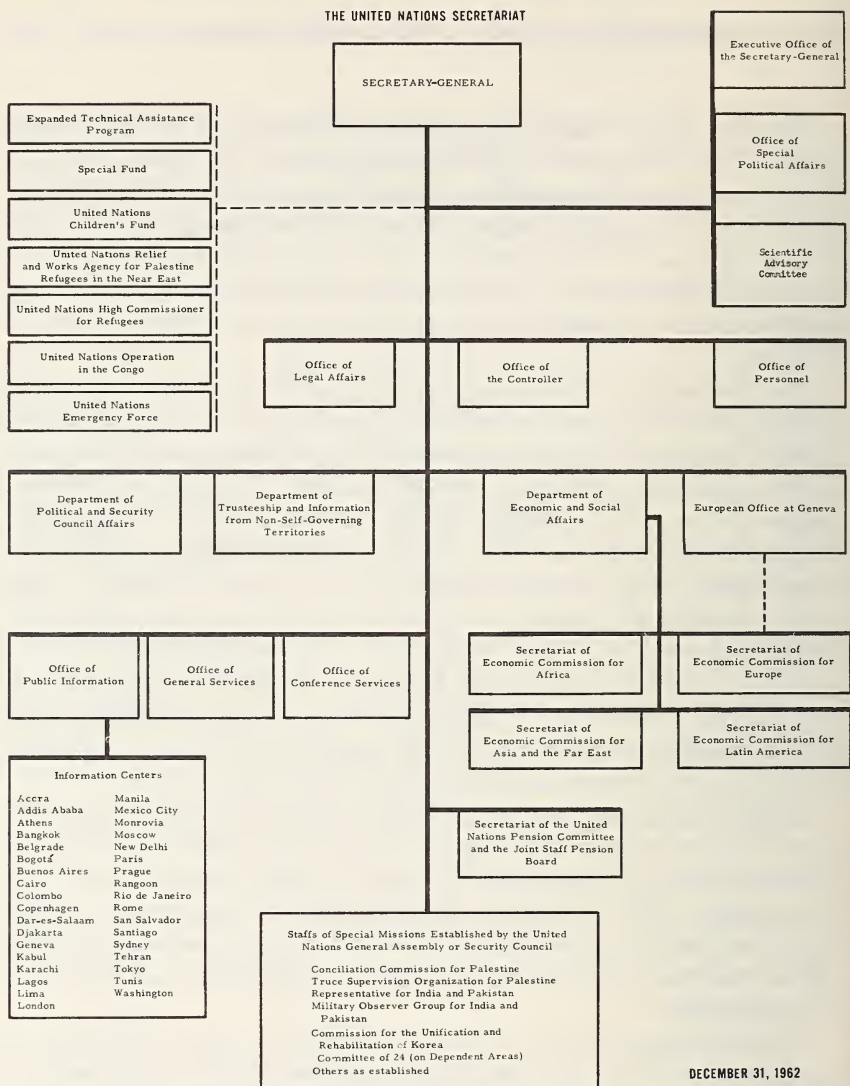
The Secretariat under article 7 of the Charter is a principal organ of the United Nations. The Secretary-General, U Thant of Burma, is the chief administrative officer of the Organization. The Secretary-General and his staff provide services for the other principal organs. There were, as of December 31, 1962, about 6,000 employees on the staff of the Secretariat. The functions of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat are described in general terms in chapter XV of the Charter.

The Secretariat serves as executive agent for the other organs; for example, the Secretary-General has played a key role in the Middle Eastern complex of problems, both as the coordinator of U.N. agencies and as negotiator among the parties involved. In addition, the major peace and security operation of the United Nations in the Congo (Léopoldville) places a heavy burden of responsibility on the Secretary-General, who is responsible for all U.N. operations in the Congo in his capacity as Executive Agent of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The Secretariat provides services and expert staffs for the field missions, such as those in Korea and India-Pakistan and for the Trusteeship Council's missions to trust territories. The Secretariat also prepares studies and background material to facilitate the work of the several organs and their subsidiary bodies.

Another important task of the Secretariat is that of servicing meetings of the other principal organs (except the International Court of Justice which has a separate "Registry" or staff) and of their subsidiary bodies. This includes making physical arrangements, translating, interpreting, preparing minutes and documentation, publishing official records, and advising chairmen on precedents and parliamentary procedure.

A third responsibility of the Secretariat is the development of arrangements with the Specialized Agencies for the coordination of programs and administrative and financial practices. Finally, the Secretariat is responsible for supplying information to the world on the purposes and daily activities of the United Nations.





DECEMBER 31, 1962

## Organization

As of December 31, 1962, the top officials at U.N. Headquarters were as follows:

Secretary-General . . . . . U Thant (Burma)

### *Under Secretaries:*

General Assembly Affairs and Chef de Cabinet . C. V. Narasimhan (India)  
 Special Political Affairs . . . . . Ralph J. Bunche (U.S.)  
 Special Political Affairs . . . . . Omar Loufti (U.A.R.)  
 Political and Security Council Affairs . . . . . Evgeny D. Kiselev (U.S.S.R.)  
 Economic and Social Council Affairs . . . . . Philippe de Seynes (France)  
 Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-  
 Governing Territories . . . . . Dragoslav Protitch  
 (Yugoslavia)  
 Legal Counsel . . . . . C. A. Stavropoulos (Greece)  
 Controller . . . . . Bruce Turner (New Zealand)  
 Director of Personnel . . . . . Sir Alexander MacFarquhar  
 (U.K.)  
 Director, Office of General Services . . . . . David B. Vaughan (U.S.)  
 Office of Conference Services . . . . . Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovakia)  
 Office of Public Information . . . . . Hernane Tavares de Sa  
 (Brazil)  
 Commissioner for Technical Assistance . . . . Victor Hoo (China)

### *Other key personnel, located in New York or elsewhere, were:*

Director, European Office at Geneva . . . . . Pier P. Spinelli (Italy)  
 Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for  
 Europe (ECE) . . . . . Vladimir Velebit  
 (Yugoslavia)  
 Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for  
 Latin America (ECLA) . . . . . Raul Prebisch (Argentina)  
 Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for  
 Africa (ECA) . . . . . Robert K. A. Gardiner  
 (Ghana)  
 Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for  
 Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) . . . . . U Nyun (Burma)  
 Executive Chairman, Technical Assistance  
 Board (TAB) . . . . . David K. Owen (U.K.)  
 Managing Director, Special Fund . . . . . Paul G. Hoffman (U.S.)  
 High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) . . . . . Felix Schnyder  
 (Switzerland)  
 Director, Children's Fund (UNICEF) . . . . . Maurice Pate (U.S.)  
 Director, Relief and Works Agency for Palestine  
 Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) . . . . . John H. Davis (U.S.)  
 Registrar, International Court of Justice . . . . M. J. Garnier-Coignet  
 (France)

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY

*Standing Committees of the General Assembly*

There are two standing committees of the General Assembly. Each consists of experts appointed in their individual capacities for a 3-year term.

*The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions* examines the budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and advises the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly. As of December 31, 1962, the 12 members were Thanassis Agnides (Greece), André Ganem (France), Albert F. Bender, Jr. (U.S.), Ismat Kittani (Iraq), Alexei Fedorovich Sorokin (U.S.S.R.), Alfonso Grez (Chile), C. H. W. Hodges (U.K.), Aga Shahi (Pakistan), Raul Quijano (Argentina), Mohamed Abdel Magid Ahmed (Sudan), Eolu Sanu (Nigeria), and Dragos Serbanescu (Rumania).

*The Committee on Contributions* consists of 10 members who advise the General Assembly concerning the apportionment of expenses of the United Nations among members. The members as of December 31, 1962, were Maurice Viaud (France), F. Nouredin Kia (Iran), Shakhar Jha (India), Jerzy Michalowski (Poland), Raymond T. Bowman (U.S.), José Pareja (Peru), Pavel Mikhailovich Chernyshev (U.S.S.R.), C. H. W. Hodges (U.K.), Sidney Pollock (Canada), and Antonio Arraiz (Venezuela).



*Subsidiary and Ad Hoc Bodies of the General Assembly*UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE  
(UNRWA)*Government Contributions and Pledges*

(Calendar year 1962)

<i>Country</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Australia . . . . .	\$201, 600
Austria . . . . .	2, 000
Belgium . . . . .	30, 000
Cambodia . . . . .	571
Canada . . . . .	925, 000
Ceylon . . . . .	1, 000
Cyprus . . . . .	563
Denmark . . . . .	50, 680
Finland . . . . .	10, 000
France . . . . .	192, 458
Gaza Authorities . . . . .	86, 504
Germany, Federal Republic of . . . . .	625, 000
Ghana . . . . .	3, 000
Greece . . . . .	15, 000
India . . . . .	21, 008
Iran . . . . .	6, 000
Ireland . . . . .	20, 000
Italy . . . . .	80, 000
Japan . . . . .	10, 000
Jordan . . . . .	100, 820
Korea, Republic of . . . . .	1, 000
Kuwait . . . . .	220, 000
Lebanon . . . . .	44, 967
Liberia . . . . .	5, 000
Luxembourg . . . . .	3, 000
Malaya, Federation of . . . . .	1, 500
Monaco . . . . .	204
Morocco . . . . .	19, 802
Netherlands . . . . .	110, 497
New Zealand . . . . .	140, 000
Norway . . . . .	49, 000
Pakistan . . . . .	20, 964
Sudan . . . . .	2, 870
Sweden . . . . .	482, 950
Switzerland . . . . .	216, 116
Syria . . . . .	96, 987
Tunisia . . . . .	2, 000
Turkey . . . . .	8, 000
United Arab Republic . . . . .	359, 214
United Kingdom . . . . .	5, 400, 000

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE  
(UNRWA)—Continued*Government Contributions and Pledges—Continued*

(Calendar year 1962)

<i>Country</i>	<i>Amount</i>
United States . . . . .	\$24, 700, 000
Vatican City . . . . .	1, 000
Viet-Nam, Republic of . . . . .	2, 500
Yugoslavia . . . . .	40, 000
Subtotal . . . . .	34, 308, 775
Contributions from private and international agencies direct to UNRWA . . . . .	958, 184
Total . . . . .	35, 266, 959

## UNITED NATIONS SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE (UNSAC)

The General Assembly at its 9th session (1954) established an Advisory Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy to assist the Secretary-General in preparing for the first international conference on this subject held in Geneva in 1955. By direction of the 10th General Assembly the Committee performed the same function with respect to the second such conference held in Geneva in 1958. At its 13th session (1958), the General Assembly decided that the Committee, under its present name *United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee*, should continue in existence "To advise and assist the Secretary-General on all matters relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy with which the United Nations might be concerned."

The Committee has seven members—Brazil, Canada, France, India, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States.

## UNITED NATIONS SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE ON THE EFFECTS OF ATOMIC RADIATION (UNSCEAR)

At its 10th session (1955) the General Assembly established the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) to study and report on ionizing radiation and its effects upon man and his environment. The Committee has 15 members—Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

## COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE

The General Assembly at its 14th session in 1959 established the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to carry forward the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space created the year before. The Committee consisted of 24 member states. In 1961 the 16th General Assembly expanded the membership to 28 states. The Committee considers scientific and technical as well as legal matters pertaining to international space cooperation and presents reports with recommendations to the General Assembly. In 1962 the Committee established a Scientific and Technical Subcommittee and a Legal Subcommittee, both of which held meetings in Geneva in the spring of that year. The full Committee met in New York from March 19 to March 29, and from September 10 to September 14, 1962. The membership of the Committee is as follows:

Albania	Austria	Bulgaria
Argentina	Belgium	Canada
Australia	Brazil	Chad



Czechoslovakia	Lebanon	Sierra Leone
France	Mexico	Sweden
Hungary	Mongolia	U.S.S.R.
India	Morocco	United Arab Republic
Iran	Poland	United Kingdom
Italy	Rumania	United States
Japan		

#### UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR)

*High Commissioner for Refugees: Felix Schnyder, Switzerland*

*1962 Chairman: Lady Tweedsmuir, United Kingdom*

General Assembly Resolution 1166 (XII) authorized, and Economic and Social Council Resolution 672 (XXV) established, an Executive Committee of the Program of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to take the place of the former Executive Committee of the United Nations Refugee Fund (UNREF), which ceased to exist December 31, 1958. The Executive Committee held two regular meetings at Geneva from May 14 to 22, 1962, and from October 22 to 27, 1962.

During 1962, the membership of the Executive Committee remained the same as in 1961:

Australia	Germany,	Sweden
Austria	Federal Republic of	Switzerland
Belgium	Greece	Tunisia
Brazil	Holy See	Turkey
Canada	Iran	United Kingdom
China	Israel	United States
Colombia	Italy	Venezuela
Denmark	Netherlands	Yugoslavia
France	Norway	

#### THE U.N. STAFF PENSION COMMITTEE

This Committee represents the United Nations on the Joint Staff Pension Board and administers, in respect of U.N. employees, the powers delegated by the Board relating to admission of participants and granting of benefits. As of December 31, 1962, it was composed of three members elected by the General Assembly, three members appointed by the Secretary-General, and three elected by the participants. The members elected by the General Assembly are C. H. W. Hodges (U.K.), R. Torres Astorga (Chile), and Albert F. Bender, Jr. (U.S.). The alternates elected by the General Assembly are Arthur C. Liveran (Israel), Brendan T. Noland (Ireland), and Nathan Quao (Ghana). Members appointed by the Secretary-General are W. A. B. Hamilton (U.K.), Bruce Turner (New Zealand), and David Vaughan (U.S.).

**THE INVESTMENTS COMMITTEE**

This Committee advises the Secretary-General concerning the investment of the assets of the Pension Fund and such other funds on the investment of which the Secretary-General may seek advice. As of December 31, 1962, it was composed of Eugene Black (U.S.), McAllister Lloyd (U.S.), David Rockefeller (U.S.), Roger de Candolle (Switzerland), Jacques Rueff (France), and B. K. Nehru (India).

**THE BOARD OF AUDITORS**

This Board audits the accounts of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and such of the Specialized Agencies as may request its services. As of December 31, 1962, it was composed of three members, as follows: Auditor-General of Netherlands, Auditor-General of Colombia, and Auditor-General of Pakistan.

**THE U.N. ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL**

This body, composed of seven members, hears and passes judgment upon applications alleging nonobservance of contracts of employment or terms of appointment of staff members of the Secretariat of the United Nations. As of December 31, 1962, the seven members, only three of whom sit in a particular case, were Mme. Paul Bastid (France), Lord Crook (U.K.), R. Venkataraman (India), James J. Casey (U.S.), Louis Ignacio-Pinto (Dahomey), Arvid Sture Petren (Sweden), and Hector Gros Espiell (Uruguay).

**INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION**

*Chairman: Radhabinod Pal*

Roberto Ago	Italy
Gilberto Amado	Brazil
Milan Bartos	Yugoslavia
Herbert W. Briggs	United States
Marcel Cadioux	Canada
Erik Castrén	Finland
Abdullah El-Erian	United Arab Republic
Taslim O. Elias	Nigeria
André Gros	France
Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga	Uruguay
Victor Kanga	Cameroon
Manfred Lachs	Poland
Liu Chieh	China
Antonia de Luna Garcia	Spain
Luis Padilla Nervo	Mexico
Radhabinod Pal	India

Angel M. Paredes  
Obed Pessou  
Shabtai Rosenne  
Abdul Hakim Tabibi  
Senjin Tsuruoka  
Grigory I. Tunkin  
Alfred Verdross  
Humphrey Waldock  
Mustafa Kamil Yasseen

Ecuador  
Dahomey  
Israel  
Afghanistan  
Japan  
U.S.S.R.  
Austria  
United Kingdom  
Iraq

The International Law Commission held its 14th session at Geneva from April 24 to June 29, 1962.



## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

*Standing Committees of the Economic and Social Council*

## TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE (TAC)

The Economic and Social Council, when it established the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA) August 15, 1949, established a standing Technical Assistance Committee (TAC) composed of members of the Council. At the 23d session of the Council the membership was increased to 24 by the addition of six members to be elected from among the states members of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies. At the resumed part of the 32d session of the Council the membership was increased to 30. The function of the TAC is to review regularly the EPTA program and to approve the overall program for the following year; to authorize the allocation of funds to the participating organizations; and to make for the Council critical examinations of activities undertaken and results achieved under the expanded program.

*1962 Chairman: Kifle Wodajo, Ethiopia*

*Membership in 1962*

*(See ECOSOC membership)*

Elected members	Expiration date
China . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Sudan . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Switzerland . . . . .	December 31, 1962
United Arab Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Upper Volta . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Afghanistan . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Greece . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Indonesia . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Israel . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1963
New Zealand . . . . .	December 31, 1963

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1963, through December 31, 1964:

Brazil	Germany, Federal Republic of	Poland
Denmark	Nigeria	United Arab Republic

The Committee met during the 34th session of ECOSOC June 25 to July 26, 1962, at Geneva, Switzerland, and November 26 to December 20, 1962, at New York.

## COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT (CID)

The Economic and Social Council at its 29th session established a standing Committee for Industrial Development. The Committee advises ECOSOC in matters related to the acceleration by less industrialized countries of their industrial development. The Committee is composed of all members of ECOSOC together with an additional 12 members elected from among states members of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

*1962 Chairman: Chedly Ayari, Tunisia*

*(See ECOSOC membership)*

Elected members	Expiration date
Ivory Coast . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Peru . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Sudan . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Bulgaria . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Germany, Federal Republic of . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Pakistan . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Philippines . . . . .	December 31, 1963

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1963, through December 31, 1965:

Algeria	Central African	Sweden
Brazil	Republic	

The Committee held its second meeting March 5 to 26, 1962, at New York.

## COMMITTEE ON HOUSING, BUILDING, AND PLANNING

The Economic and Social Council at its 34th session established a Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning. The Committee is to make recommendations on such matters dealing with housing and related community facilities, and physical planning, as: financing of home construction and ownership, provision of land for homes and community facilities at reasonable costs, designs suitable for low-cost housing in different climate and cultures, improved building materials and their better use, and ways of promoting acceptance and adoption of efficient organizational and building techniques. The Committee is composed of 21 members elected by the Council on a basis of equitable geographical distribution and a balance between developing and industrialized countries. The term of office for the members is 3 years except for the initial period when one-third of

them serves for 1 year, one-third for 2 years and one-third for 3 years, the term of each determined by lot.

The following countries were elected by the resumed 34th ECOSOC to be members of the Committee :

Term expires Dec. 31, 1963	Term expires Dec. 31, 1964	Term expires Dec. 31, 1965
Chile	Argentina	Colombia
Costa Rica	France	Iran
Canada	Greece	Israel
Denmark	Italy	Japan
Hungary	Rumania	Malagasy Republic
Indonesia	Tanganyika	Nigeria
U.S.S.R.	United Arab Republic	United States



*Functional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council*

## COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

*1962 Chairman: Georges Hakim, Lebanon*

	Expiration date
Argentina . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Austria . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Denmark . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Pakistan . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Ukrainian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1962
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Venezuela . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Afghanistan . . . . .	December 31, 1963
China . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Italy . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Panama . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1963
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1963
El Salvador . . . . .	December 31, 1964
France . . . . .	December 31, 1964
India . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Lebanon . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Philippines . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Turkey . . . . .	December 31, 1964
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1964

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1963, through December 31, 1965:

Canada	Ecuador	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Chile	Liberia	United States
Denmark		

The Commission held its 18th session at New York from March 19 to April 14, 1962.

## COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY TRADE

*1962 Chairman: Octavia A. Dias Carneiro, Brazil (reelected)*

	Expiration date
Argentina . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Pakistan . . . . .	December 31, 1962
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1962
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Bulgaria . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Ceylon . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Ivory Coast . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Malaya . . . . .	December 31, 1963
New Zealand . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1963
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Belgium . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Ecuador . . . . .	December 31, 1964
France . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Malagasy Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Mali . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Peru . . . . .	December 31, 1964

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1963, through December 31, 1965:

Brazil	Thailand	United Kingdom
Greece	U.S.S.R.	Uruguay
Rumania		

The Commission held its 10th session at Rome from May 15 to 23, 1962.

## COMMISSION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS

*1962 Chairman: M. Ozkol, Turkey*

	Expiration date
Hungary . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Iran . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Malagasy Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Mexico . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Morocco . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1962
United Arab Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1962
China . . . . .	December 31, 1963
India . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Japan . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Turkey . . . . .	December 31, 1963
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1963
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1964
France . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Peru . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Switzerland . . . . .	December 31, 1964
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Yugoslavia . . . . .	December 31, 1964

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1963, through December 31, 1965:

Germany,	Iran	Morocco
Federal Republic of	Korea, Republic of	United Arab Republic
Hungary	Mexico	

The Commission held its 17th session at Geneva from May 14 to June 1, 1962.

## POPULATION COMMISSION

*1962 Chairman: J. Mertens de Wilmars, Belgium (reelected)*

	Expiration date
China . . . . .	December 31, 1963
France . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Ghana . . . . .	December 31, 1963
India . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Italy . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Ukrainian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1963
Belgium . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Ceylon . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Greece . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Mexico . . . . .	December 31, 1964
United Arab Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1964



In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Economic and Social Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1965:

El Salvador

Syria

United Kingdom

Japan

U.S.S.R.

United States

The Commission did not meet in 1962.

## SOCIAL COMMISSION

*1962 Chairman: J. W. Willard, Canada*

	Expiration date
Ceylon . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Byelorussian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1963
Finland . . . . .	December 31, 1963
United Arab Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1963
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Yugoslavia . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Albania . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1964
China . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Ecuador . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Israel . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Sudan . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Tunisia . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Gabon <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	December 31, 1965

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1965:

Austria	Iraq	U.S.S.R.
France	Malaya	United States

The Commission held its 14th session at New York from April 30 to May 11, 1962.

<sup>1</sup> Gabon was elected to a 3-year term beginning January 1, 1963, and expiring December 31, 1965.

## STATISTICAL COMMISSION

*1962 Chairman: M. D. McCarthy, Ireland (reelected)*

	Expiration date
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1963
India . . . . .	December 31, 1963
New Zealand . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Sudan . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Ukrainian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1963
Cuba . . . . .	December 31, 1964
France . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Norway . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Rumania . . . . .	December 31, 1964
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1964

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1965:

Canada	Ireland	U.S.S.R.
China	Japan	United States

The Commission held its 12th session at New York from April 24 to May 10, 1962.



## COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

*1962 Chairman: Mrs. Zofia Dembinska, Poland*

	Expiration date
Colombia . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Cuba . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Finland . . . . .	December 31, 1962
France . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Iran . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Mexico . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Argentina . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1963
China . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Japan . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Philippines . . . . .	December 31, 1963
United Arab Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Ghana . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Indonesia . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Spain . . . . .	December 31, 1964
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1964
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1964
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1964

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1963, through December 31, 1965:

Colombia	Mexico	Poland
Finland	Peru	Sierra Leone
France		

The Commission held its 16th session at New York from March 19 to April 6, 1962.

*Regional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council***ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA (ECA)***Headquarters: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**1962 Chairman: Oumar Baba Diarra, Mali*

Belgium <sup>1</sup>	Guinea	Sierra Leone
Burundi	Ivory Coast	Somali Republic
Cameroon	Liberia	South Africa,
Central African Republic	Libya	Republic of
Chad	Malagasy Republic	Spain
Congo (Brazzaville)	Mali	Sudan
Congo (Léopoldville)	Mauritania	Tanganyika
Dahomey	Morocco	Togo
Ethiopia	Niger	Tunisia
France	Nigeria	United Arab Republic
Gabon	Portugal	United Kingdom
Ghana	Rwanda	Upper Volta
	Senegal	

*Associate Members*

Basutoland,	Gambia	Rhodesia and
Bechuanaland	Kenya and Zanzibar	Nyasaland,
Protectorate and		Federation of
Swaziland		Uganda

The Commission held its 4th session at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from February 19 to March 3, 1962.

**ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST (ECAFE)***Headquarters: Bangkok, Thailand**1962 Chairman: A. Fujiyama, Japan*

Afghanistan	Iran	Pakistan
Australia	Japan	Philippines
Burma	Korea, Republic of	Thailand
Cambodia	Laos	U.S.S.R.
Ceylon	Malaya	United Kingdom
China	Mongolia	United States
France	Nepal	Viet-Nam, Republic of
India	Netherlands	
Indonesia	New Zealand	

*Associate Members*

Brunei	Singapore	North Borneo
Hong Kong		and Sarawak

The Commission held its 18th session at Tokyo, Japan, from March 6 to 19, 1962.

<sup>1</sup> Belgium was a member until June 30, 1962.

**ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE (ECE)***Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**1962 Chairman: Gheorghe Radulesco, Rumania (reelected)*

Albania	Germany, Federal	Portugal
Austria	Republic of	Rumania
Belgium	Greece	Spain
Bulgaria	Hungary	Sweden
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Iceland	Turkey
Cyprus	Ireland	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Italy	U.S.S.R.
Denmark	Luxembourg	United Kingdom
Finland	Netherlands	United States
France	Norway	Yugoslavia
	Poland	

Switzerland participates in a consultative capacity.

The Commission held its 17th session at Geneva from April 24 to May 11, 1962.

**ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA (ECLA)***Headquarters: Santiago, Chile**1962 Chairman: Luis Escobar Cerda, Chile*

Argentina	Ecuador	Panama
Bolivia	El Salvador	Paraguay
Brazil	France	Peru
Canada	Guatemala	United Kingdom
Chile	Haiti	United States
Colombia	Honduras	Uruguay
Costa Rica	Mexico	Venezuela
Cuba	Netherlands	
Dominican Republic	Nicaragua	

*Associate Members*

British Guiana	British Honduras or Belize	West Indies, Federation of the <sup>1</sup>
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The Committee of the Whole of the Commission met at Santiago, February 14 to 16, 1962, and March 21 and 22, 1962. It met at New York June 6 and 7, 1962.

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<sup>1</sup> Until June 1, 1962, when the Federation of The West Indies was dissolved.



*U.N. Special Bodies and Programs*

## UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF)

*1962 Chairman: Miquel Bustamante, Mexico*

	Expiration date
Ecuador . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Greece . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Indonesia . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Iran . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Mexico . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Switzerland . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Turkey . . . . .	December 31, 1962
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Viet-Nam, Republic of . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Afghanistan . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1963
China . . . . .	December 31, 1963
El Salvador . . . . .	December 31, 1963
France . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Japan . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Tunisia . . . . .	December 31, 1963
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1963
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Bulgaria . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Chile . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Germany, Federal Republic of . . . . .	December 31, 1964
India . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Israel . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Italy . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Nigeria . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Pakistan . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1964

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council for the period January 1, 1963, through December 31, 1965:

Dominican Republic	Spain	Switzerland
Mexico	Sudan	Turkey
Philippines	Sweden	United Kingdom
Senegal		

The Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) met at New York, June 4 to 12, 1962, and December 17 to 20, 1962.

## GOVERNING COUNCIL OF THE SPECIAL FUND

*1962 Chairman: M. Pavicevic, Yugoslavia*

	Expiration date
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Japan . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Pakistan . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Thailand . . . . .	December 31, 1962
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1962
Yugoslavia . . . . .	December 31, 1962
Ghana . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Guatemala . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Italy . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Senegal . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1963
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1964
France . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Indonesia . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Mexico . . . . .	December 31, 1964
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1964
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1964

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council for the period January 1, 1963, through December 31, 1965:

Canada	Philippines	U.S.S.R.
Japan	Poland	Uruguay

The Governing Council held its 7th session at New York, January 9 to 15, 1962, and its 8th session at New York, May 21 to 29, 1962.

**EXPANDED PROGRAM OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND SPECIAL FUND  
(EPTA)**

*Contributions Pledged and Received as of December 31, 1962*

(Calendar year 1962)

(US dollar equivalent)

Country	Expanded Technical Assistance Program		Special Fund	
	Amount pledged	Amount paid	Amount pledged	Amount paid
Afghanistan . . . . .	\$14, 000	\$14, 000	\$11, 500	\$11, 500
Albania . . . . .	2, 000		2, 000	
Argentina . . . . .	115, 663		96, 386	
Australia . . . . .	750, 000	750, 000		
Austria . . . . .	170, 000	170, 000	260, 000	260, 000
Belgium . . . . .	625, 000	625, 000	625, 000	625, 000
Bolivia . . . . .	10, 000		10, 000	
Brazil . . . . .	59, 033	48, 236	29, 500	29, 500
Bulgaria . . . . .	10, 256	10, 256	10, 256	10, 256
Burma . . . . .	40, 000	40, 000	20, 000	20, 000
Byelorussian S.S.R. . .	100, 000	100, 000	50, 000	50, 000
Cambodia . . . . .	5, 714	5, 714	5, 000	5, 000
Cameroon . . . . .	4, 000		4, 000	
Canada . . . . .	2, 150, 000	1, 800, 000	2, 350, 000	2, 030, 000
Ceylon . . . . .	25, 000	25, 000	10, 000	10, 000
Chile . . . . .	142, 993	142, 993	142, 993	142, 993
China . . . . .	20, 000	20, 000	20, 000	20, 000
Colombia . . . . .	143, 000	33, 000	40, 500	
Costa Rica . . . . .	10, 053	10, 053		
Cuba . . . . .	25, 000		25, 000	20, 000
Cyprus . . . . .	6, 300	6, 300	6, 300	6, 300
Czechoslovakia . . . .	69, 444	69, 444	69, 444	69, 444
Denmark . . . . .	1, 737, 368	1, 737, 368	1, 158, 245	1, 158, 245
Dominican Republic . .			5, 000	5, 000
Ecuador . . . . .	20, 000		40, 000	
El Salvador . . . . .	7, 700	7, 700	2, 000	2, 000
Ethiopia . . . . .	20, 000		29, 000	
Finland . . . . .	100, 000	100, 000	200, 000	200, 000
France . . . . .	1, 852, 555	926, 277	1, 072, 079	536, 039
Gabon . . . . .	6, 076	6, 076	6, 076	6, 076
Germany, Federal Republic of . . . . .	2, 620, 000	2, 620, 000	4, 880, 000	4, 880, 000
Ghana . . . . .	99, 224	99, 224	42, 000	42, 000
Greece . . . . .	30, 000	30, 000	30, 000	30, 000
Guatemala . . . . .	12, 000		8, 000	
Haiti . . . . .	2, 800	2, 449	60, 000	
Holy See . . . . .	1, 000	1, 000	1, 000	1, 000
Hungary . . . . .	53, 259	53, 259	42, 608	42, 608
Iceland . . . . .	4, 000	4, 000	4, 000	4, 000
India . . . . .	820, 000	820, 000	2, 055, 000	2, 055, 000
Indonesia . . . . .	50, 000		25, 000	
Iran . . . . .	85, 000	85, 000	125, 000	85, 784



*Contributions Pledged and Received as of December 31, 1962—Con.*  
 (Calendar year 1962)  
 (US dollar equivalent)

Country	Expanded Technical Assistance Program		Special Fund	
	Amount pledged	Amount paid	Amount pledged	Amount paid
Iraq . . . . .	\$60, 000	\$60, 000	\$40, 000	\$40, 000
Ireland . . . . .	15, 000	15, 000	25, 000	25, 000
Israel . . . . .	40, 156	30, 189	51, 600	30, 100
Italy . . . . .	900, 000	. . . . .	1, 350, 000	. . . . .
Ivory Coast . . . . .	2, 000	2, 000	4, 000	4, 000
Japan . . . . .	450, 000	450, 000	1, 596, 037	1, 596, 037
Jordan . . . . .	24, 000	24, 000	16, 000	16, 000
Korea, Republic of . . . .	7, 000	7, 000	13, 000	13, 000
Kuwait . . . . .	125, 000	125, 000	125, 000	125, 000
Laos . . . . .	30, 000	30, 000	30, 000	30, 000
Lebanon . . . . .	31, 683	31, 683	47, 525	47, 525
Liberia . . . . .	25, 000	25, 000	15, 000	15, 000
Libya . . . . .	37, 500	37, 500	37, 500	37, 500
Luxembourg . . . . .	4, 000	4, 000	6, 000	6, 000
Malagasy Republic . . . .	6, 076	6, 076	6, 076	6, 076
Malaya . . . . .	25, 000	25, 000	10, 000	10, 000
Mexico . . . . .	121, 000	121, 000	100, 000	100, 000
Monaco . . . . .	1, 013	1, 013	1, 013	1, 013
Morocco . . . . .	20, 000	20, 000	40, 000	40, 000
Nepal . . . . .	4, 000	2, 000	4, 000	2, 000
Netherlands . . . . .	1, 491, 878	1, 491, 878	2, 561, 436	2, 561, 436
New Zealand . . . . .	280, 000	280, 000	140, 000	140, 000
Nicaragua . . . . .	2, 571	2, 571	3, 857	. . . . .
Nigeria . . . . .	70, 008	70, 008	140, 017	140, 017
Norway . . . . .	758, 785	758, 785	1, 329, 973	1, 329, 973
Pakistan . . . . .	200, 000	200, 000	250, 000	250, 000
Panama . . . . .	4, 000	4, 000	1, 000	1, 000
Peru . . . . .	40, 000	40, 000	70, 000	70, 000
Philippines . . . . .	34, 021	. . . . .	34, 021	. . . . .
Poland . . . . .	100, 000	100, 000	125, 000	125, 000
Rumania . . . . .	16, 667	16, 667	16, 667	16, 667
Saudi Arabia . . . . .	50, 000	50, 000	50, 000	50, 000
Senegal . . . . .	16, 000	. . . . .	24, 000	. . . . .
Sierra Leone . . . . .	10, 000	. . . . .	10, 000	. . . . .
South Africa, Republic of	10, 000	10, 000	10, 000	10, 000
Spain . . . . .	50, 000	. . . . .	50, 000	. . . . .
Sudan . . . . .	90, 000	90, 000	45, 000	45, 000
Sweden . . . . .	1, 500, 000	1, 500, 000	5, 000, 000	5, 000, 000
Switzerland . . . . .	813, 953	813, 953	1, 046, 512	1, 046, 512
Syrian Arab Republic . . .	13, 089	. . . . .	2, 618	. . . . .
Thailand . . . . .	38, 095	38, 095	160, 000	160, 000
Tunisia . . . . .	25, 000	25, 000	50, 000	50, 000
Turkey . . . . .	266, 667	266, 667	322, 222	322, 222
Ukrainian S.S.R. . . . .	250, 000	250, 000	125, 000	125, 000

*Contributions Pledged and Received as of December 31, 1962—Con.*  
 (Calendar year 1962)  
 (US dollar equivalent)

Country	Expanded Technical Assistance Program		Special Fund	
	Amount pledged	Amount paid	Amount pledged	Amount paid
U.S.S.R. . . . .	\$2, 000, 000	\$2, 000, 000	\$1, 000, 000	\$1, 000, 000
United Arab Republic . . . . .	91, 996	. . . . .	183, 993	183, 993
United Kingdom . . . . .	3, 000, 000	3, 000, 000	5, 000, 000	5, 000, 000
United States . . . . .	19, 641, 303	18, 712, 167	25, 136, 606	13, 264, 908
Upper Volta . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	10, 162	10, 162
Uruguay . . . . .	100, 000	. . . . .	20, 000	. . . . .
Venezuela . . . . .	350, 000	350, 000	100, 000	100, 000
Viet-Nam, Republic of . . . . .	25, 714	25, 714	16, 686	16, 686
Yugoslavia . . . . .	152, 000	152, 000	220, 000	220, 000
Subtotal . . . . .	45, 438, 613	41, 626, 315	60, 345, 408	45, 740, 572
Local Cost Assessment . . . . .	2, 564, 349	1, 866, 601	2, 496, 107	2, 496, 107
Total . . . . .	48, 002, 962	43, 492, 916	62, 841, 515	48, 236, 679

# *The Specialized Agencies*

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## FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO)

*Headquarters: Rome, Italy*

*Director General: B. R. Sen, India*

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Pakistan
Argentina	Guinea	Panama
Australia	Haiti	Paraguay
Austria	Honduras	Peru
Belgium	Iceland	Philippines
Bolivia	India	Poland
Brazil	Indonesia	Portugal
Burma	Iran	Rumania
Cambodia	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Cameroon	Ireland	Senegal
Canada	Israel	Sierra Leone
Central African Republic	Italy	Somali Republic
Ceylon	Ivory Coast	South Africa, Repub- lic of
Chad	Japan	Spain
Chile	Jordan	Sudan
Colombia	Korea, Republic of	Sweden
Congo (Brazzaville)	Kuwait	Switzerland
Congo (Léopoldville)	Laos	Syrian Arab Republic
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Tanganyika
Cuba	Liberia	Thailand
Cyprus	Libya	Togo
Dahomey	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Denmark	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
Dominican Republic	Malaya	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Mali	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Mauritania	United States
Ethiopia	Mexico	Upper Volta
Finland	Morocco	Uruguay
France	Nepal	Venezuela
Gabon	Netherlands	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Germany, Federal Re- public of	New Zealand	Yemen
Ghana	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
Greece	Niger	
	Nigeria	
	Norway	

*Associate Members*

British Guiana	Mauritius
Jamaica	Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of



# INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (IBRD) <sup>1</sup>

*Headquarters: Washington, D.C.*

*President: Eugene R. Black, United States*

*Vice President: Geoffrey M. Wilson, United Kingdom*

*Vice President: J. Burke Knapp, United States*

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Norway
Argentina	Haiti	Pakistan
Australia	Honduras	Panama
Austria	Iceland	Paraguay
Belgium	India	Peru
Bolivia	Indonesia	Philippines
Brazil	Iran	Portugal
Burma	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Cameroon	Ireland	Senegal
Canada	Israel	Sierra Leone
Central African Republic	Italy	Somali Republic
Ceylon	Ivory Coast	South Africa,
Chad	Jamaica	Republic of
Chile	Japan	Spain
China	Jordan	Sudan
Colombia	Korea, Republic of	Sweden
Congo (Brazzaville)	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Costa Rica	Laos	Tanganyika
Cyprus	Lebanon	Thailand
Dahomey	Liberia	Togo
Denmark	Libya	Trinidad and Tobago
Dominican Republic	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Ecuador	Malaya	Turkey
El Salvador	Mauritania	United Arab Republic
Ethiopia	Mexico	United Kingdom
Finland	Morocco	United States
France	Nepal	Upper Volta
Gabon	Netherlands	Uruguay
Germany, Federal	New Zealand	Venezuela
Republic of	Nicaragua	Viet-Nam,
Ghana	Niger	Republic of
Greece	Nigeria	Yugoslavia

<sup>1</sup> A state is required to belong to the International Monetary Fund before it may join the IBRD.

## INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION (ICAO)

*Headquarters: Montreal, Canada**Secretary General: Ronald Macalister Macdonnell, Canada*

Afghanistan	Ghana	Nicaragua
Argentina	Greece	Niger
Australia	Guatemala	Nigeria
Austria	Guinea	Norway
Belgium	Haiti	Pakistan
Bolivia	Honduras	Panama
Brazil	Iceland	Paraguay
Burma	India	Peru
Cambodia	Indonesia	Philippines
Cameroon	Iran	Poland
Canada	Iraq	Portugal
Central African Republic	Ireland	Saudi Arabia
Ceylon	Israel	Senegal
Chad	Italy	Sierra Leone
Chile	Ivory Coast	South Africa, Republic of
China	Japan	Spain
Colombia	Jordan	Sudan
Congo (Brazzaville)	Korea, Republic of	Sweden
Congo (Léopoldville)	Kuwait	Switzerland
Costa Rica	Laos	Syrian Arab Republic
Cuba	Lebanon	Tanganyika
Cyprus	Liberia	Thailand
Czechoslovakia	Libya	Tunisia
Dahomey	Luxembourg	Turkey
Denmark	Malagasy Republic	United Arab Republic
Dominican Republic	Malaya	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Mali	United States
El Salvador	Mauritania	Upper Volta
Ethiopia	Mexico	Uruguay
Finland	Morocco	Venezuela
France	Nepal	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Gabon	Netherlands	Yugoslavia
Germany, Federal Republic of	New Zealand	

## INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (IDA)

*Headquarters: Washington, D.C.**President: Eugene R. Black,<sup>1</sup> United States*

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Norway
Argentina	Haiti	Pakistan
Australia	Honduras	Panama
Austria	Iceland	Paraguay
Bolivia	India	Peru
Brazil	Iran	Philippines
Burma	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Canada	Ireland	Senegal
Central African Republic	Israel	Sierra Leone
Ceylon	Italy	Somali Republic
Chile	Ivory Coast	South Africa,
China	Japan	Republic of
Colombia	Jordan	Spain
Costa Rica	Korea, Republic of	Sudan
Cyprus	Kuwait	Sweden
Dahomey	Lebanon	Syrian Arab Republic
Denmark	Liberia	Tanganyika
Dominican Republic	Libya	Thailand
Ecuador	Malaya	Togo
El Salvador	Mauritania	Tunisia
Ethiopia	Mexico	Turkey
Finland	Morocco	United Arab Republic
France	Nepal	United Kingdom
Germany, Federal	Netherlands	United States
Republic of	Nicaragua	Upper Volta
Ghana	Niger	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Greece	Nigeria	Yugoslavia

<sup>1</sup> Under the IDA articles Eugene R. Black, as President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), is *ex officio* President of IDA. Officers and staff of the Bank have been appointed to serve concurrently as officers and staff of IDA, without additional compensation.



## INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION (IFC)

*Headquarters: Washington, D.C.**President: Eugene R. Black,<sup>1</sup> United States*

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Norway
Argentina	Haiti	Pakistan
Australia	Honduras	Panama
Austria	Iceland	Paraguay
Belgium	India	Peru
Bolivia	Iran	Philippines
Brazil	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Ireland	Senegal
Canada	Israel	Sierra Leone
Ceylon	Italy	Somali Republic
Chile	Ivory Coast	South Africa,
Colombia	Japan	Republic of
Costa Rica	Jordan	Spain
Cyprus	Kuwait	Sudan
Denmark	Lebanon	Sweden
Dominican Republic	Liberia	Syrian Arab Republic
Ecuador	Libya	Tanganyika
El Salvador	Luxembourg	Thailand
Ethiopia	Malaya	Togo
Finland	Mexico	Tunisia
France	Morocco	Turkey
Germany, Federal	Netherlands	United Arab Republic
Republic of	New Zealand	United Kingdom
Ghana	Nicaragua	United States
Greece	Nigeria	Venezuela

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<sup>1</sup> Under the IFC articles Eugene R. Black, as President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), is *ex officio* President of IFC. Officers and staff of the Bank have been appointed to serve concurrently as officers and staff of IFC, without additional compensation.

## INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Director General: David A. Morse, United States*

Afghanistan	Germany, Federal	Norway
Albania	Republic of	Pakistan
Algeria	Ghana	Panama
Argentina	Greece	Paraguay
Australia	Guatemala	Peru
Austria	Guinea	Philippines
Belgium	Haiti	Poland
Bolivia	Honduras	Portugal
Brazil	Hungary	Rumania
Bulgaria	Iceland	Rwanda
Burma	India	Senegal
Burundi	Indonesia	Sierra Leone
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Iran	Somali Republic
Cameroon	Iraq	South Africa,
Canada	Ireland	Republic of
Central African Republic	Israel	Spain
Ceylon	Italy	Sudan
Chad	Ivory Coast	Sweden
Chile	Jamaica	Switzerland
China	Japan	Syrian Arab Republic
Colombia	Jordan	Tanganyika
Congo (Brazzaville)	Kuwait	Thailand
Congo (Léopoldville)	Lebanon	Togo
Costa Rica	Liberia	Trinidad and Tobago
Cuba	Libya	Tunisia
Cyprus	Luxembourg	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Malagasy Republic	Uganda
Dahomey	Malaya	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Denmark	Mali	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Mauritania	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Mexico	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Morocco	United States
Ethiopia	Netherlands	Upper Volta
Finland	New Zealand	Uruguay
France	Nicaragua	Venezuela
Gabon	Niger	Viet-Nam, Republic of
	Nigeria	Yugoslavia

# INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION (IMCO)

*Headquarters: London, England*

*Secretary General: Jean Roullier, France*

Argentina	Haiti	Netherlands
Australia	Honduras	New Zealand
Belgium	Iceland	Nigeria
Bulgaria	India	Norway
Burma	Indonesia	Pakistan
Cambodia	Iran	Panama
Cameroon	Ireland	Poland
Canada	Israel	Senegal
China	Italy	Spain
Denmark	Ivory Coast	Sweden
Dominican Republic	Japan	Switzerland
Ecuador	Korea, Republic of	Turkey
Finland	Kuwait	U.S.S.R.
France	Liberia	United Arab Republic
Germany, Federal Re- public of	Malagasy Republic	United Kingdom
Ghana	Mauritania	United States
Greece	Mexico	Yugoslavia
	Morocco	

*Associate Members*

Sarawak and North Borneo (Joint Membership)



## INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF)

*Headquarters: Washington, D.C.**Managing Director and Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors:  
Per Jacobsson, Sweden*

Afghanistan	Haiti	Pakistan
Argentina	Honduras	Panama
Australia	Iceland	Paraguay
Austria	India	Peru
Belgium	Indonesia	Philippines
Bolivia	Iran	Portugal
Brazil	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Ireland	Senegal
Canada	Israel	Sierra Leone
Ceylon	Italy	Somali Republic
Chile	Japan	South Africa,
China	Jordan	Republic of
Colombia	Korea, Republic of	Spain
Costa Rica	Kuwait	Sudan
Cuba	Laos	Sweden
Cyprus	Lebanon	Syrian Arab Republic
Denmark	Liberia	Tanganyika
Dominican Republic	Libya	Thailand
Ecuador	Luxembourg	Togo
El Salvador	Malaya	Tunisia
Ethiopia	Mexico	Turkey
Finland	Morocco	United Arab Republic
France	Nepal	United Kingdom
Germany, Federal	Netherlands	United States
Republic of	New Zealand	Uruguay
Ghana	Nicaragua	Venezuela
Greece	Nigeria	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Guatemala	Norway	Yugoslavia

## INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION (ITU)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Secretary General: Gerald C. Gross, United States*

Afghanistan	Ghana	Paraguay
Albania	Greece	Peru
Argentina	Guatemala	Philippines
Australia	Guinea	Poland
Austria	Haiti	Portugal
Belgium	Honduras	Portuguese Overseas Provinces
Bolivia	Hungary	Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of
Brazil	Iceland	Rumania
Bulgaria	India	Rwanda <sup>1</sup>
Burma	Indonesia	Saudi Arabia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Iran	Senegal
Cambodia	Iraq	Sierra Leone
Cameroon	Ireland	Somali Republic
Canada	Israel	South Africa, Republic of and Territory of South- West Africa
Central African Republic	Italy	Spain
Ceylon	Ivory Coast	Spanish Provinces in Africa
Chad	Japan	Sudan
Chile	Jordan	Sweden
China	Korea, Republic of	Switzerland
Colombia	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Brazzaville)	Laos	Tanganyika
Congo (Léopoldville)	Lebanon	Thailand
Costa Rica	Liberia	Togo
Cuba	Libya	Tunisia
Cyprus	Luxembourg	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Malagasy Republic	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Dahomey	Malaya	U.S.S.R.
Denmark	Mali	United Arab Republic
Dominican Republic	Mauritania	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Mexico	Overseas Territories for which the United King- dom is responsible
El Salvador	Monaco	United States
Ethiopia	Morocco	Territories of United States
Finland	Nepal	Upper Volta
France	Netherlands	
Overseas States of the French Community and French Overseas Terri- tories	New Zealand	
Gabon	Nicaragua	
Germany, Federal Republic of	Niger	
	Nigeria	
	Norway	
	Pakistan	
	Panama	

<sup>1</sup> Ruanda-Urundi was an associate member until June 30, 1962, when it became two independent countries—Rwanda and Burundi. Rwanda later joined the ITU as a regular member.

# INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION (ITU)— Continued

Uruguay  
Vatican City

Venezuela  
Viet-Nam, Republic of

Yemen  
Yugoslavia

## *Associate Members*

Bermuda-British Caribbean Group  
British East Africa

Ruanda-Urundi <sup>1</sup>  
Singapore-British Borneo Group

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<sup>1</sup> Ruanda-Urundi was an associate member until June 30, 1962, when it became two independent countries—Rwanda and Burundi. Rwanda later joined the ITU as a regular member.



# UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

*Headquarters: Paris, France*

*Director General: René Maheu, France*

Afghanistan	Ghana	Norway
Albania	Greece	Pakistan
Algeria	Guatemala	Panama
Argentina	Guinea	Paraguay
Australia	Haiti	Peru
Austria	Honduras	Philippines
Belgium	Hungary	Poland
Bolivia	India	Rumania
Brazil	Indonesia	Rwanda
Bulgaria	Iran	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Iraq	Senegal
Burundi	Ireland	Sierra Leone
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Israel	Somali Republic
Cambodia	Italy	Spain
Cameroon	Ivory Coast	Sudan
Canada	Jamaica	Sweden
Central African Republic	Japan	Switzerland
Ceylon	Jordan	Syrian Arab Republic
Chad	Korea, Republic of	Tanganyika
Chile	Kuwait	Thailand
China	Laos	Togo
Colombia	Lebanon	Trinidad and Tobago
Congo (Brazzaville)	Liberia	Tunisia
Congo (Léopoldville)	Libya	Turkey
Costa Rica	Luxembourg	Uganda
Cuba	Malagasy Republic	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Cyprus	Malaya	U.S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Mali	United Arab Republic
Dahomey	Mauritania	United Kingdom
Denmark	Mexico	United States
Dominican Republic	Monaco	Upper Volta
Ecuador	Mongolia	Uruguay
El Salvador	Morocco	Venezuela
Ethiopia	Nepal	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Finland	Netherlands	Yemen
France	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
Gabon	Nicaragua	
Germany, Federal	Niger	
Republic of	Nigeria	

## *Associate Members*

Mauritius	State of Singapore	Qatar
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## UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION (UPU)

*Headquarters: Bern, Switzerland**Secretary General: Edouard Weber, Switzerland*

Afghanistan	Guinea	Poland
Albania	Haiti	Portugal
Algeria	Honduras	Portuguese Provinces of
Argentina	Hungary	East Africa, Asia, Oce-
Australia	Iceland	ania, and West Africa
Austria	India	Ruanda-Urundi <sup>1</sup>
Belgium	Indonesia	Rumania
Bolivia	Iran	San Marino
Brazil	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Bulgaria	Ireland	Senegal
Burma	Israel	Somali Republic
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Italy	South Africa, Republic of
Cambodia	Ivory Coast	Spain
Cameroon	Japan	Spanish Territories of
Canada	Jordan	Africa
Chad	Korea, Republic of	Sudan
Central African	Kuwait	Sweden
Republic	Laos	Switzerland
Ceylon	Lebanon	Syrian Arab Republic
Chile	Liberia	Thailand
China	Libya	Togo
Colombia	Liechtenstein	Tunisia
Congo (Brazzaville)	Luxembourg	Turkey
Congo (Léopoldville)	Malagasy Republic	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Costa Rica	Malaya	U.S.S.R.
Cuba	Mali	United Arab Republic
Cyprus	Mexico	United Kingdom
Czechoslovakia	Monaco	United Kingdom Colo-
Dahomey	Morocco	nies, Protectorates, and
Denmark	Nepal	Overseas Territories
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	and Territories under
Ecuador	Netherlands Antilles	Trusteeship
El Salvador	and Surinam	United States
Ethiopia	New Zealand	United States Overseas
Finland	Nicaragua	Territories, including
France	Niger	the Trust Territory of
French Overseas Terri-	Nigeria	the Pacific Islands
tories	Norway	Uruguay
Gabon	Pakistan	Vatican City
Germany, Federal Re-	Panama	Venezuela
public of	Paraguay	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Ghana	Peru	Yemen
Greece	Philippines	Yugoslavia
Guatemala		

<sup>1</sup> Until June 30, 1962, when Ruanda-Urundi became two independent countries—Rwanda and Burundi.

## WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Director General: Marcolino G. Candau, Brazil*

Afghanistan	Ghana	Pakistan
Albania	Greece	Panama
Algeria	Guatemala	Paraguay
Argentina	Guinea	Peru
Australia	Haiti	Philippines
Austria	Honduras	Poland
Belgium	Hungary	Portugal
Bolivia	Iceland	Rumania
Brazil	India	Rwanda
Bulgaria	Indonesia	Samoa, Western
Burma	Iran	Saudi Arabia
Burundi	Iraq	Senegal
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Ireland	Sierra Leone
Cambodia	Israel	Somali Republic
Cameroon	Italy	South Africa, Republic of
Canada	Ivory Coast	Spain
Central African Republic	Japan	Sudan
Ceylon	Jordan	Sweden
Chad	Korea, Republic of	Switzerland
Chile	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
China	Laos	Tanganyika
Colombia	Lebanon	Thailand
Congo (Brazzaville)	Liberia	Togo
Congo (Léopoldville)	Libya	Tunisia
Costa Rica	Luxembourg	Turkey
Cuba	Malagasy Republic	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Cyprus	Malaya	U.S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Mali	United Arab Republic
Dahomey	Mauritania	United Kingdom
Denmark	Mexico	United States
Dominican Republic	Monaco	Upper Volta
Ecuador	Mongolia	Uruguay
El Salvador	Morocco	Venezuela
Ethiopia	Nepal	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Finland	Netherlands	Yemen
France	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
Gabon	Nicaragua	
Germany, Federal Republic of	Niger	
	Nigeria	
	Norway	
<i>Associate Members</i>		
Jamaica	Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of	Uganda



## WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION (WMO)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Secretary General: D. A. Davies, United Kingdom*

Afghanistan	Greece	Poland
Albania	Guatemala	Portugal
Argentina	Guinea	Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique)
Australia —	Haiti	Portuguese West Africa (Angola)
Austria	Honduras	Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of
Belgium	Hong Kong	Ruanda-Urundi <sup>1</sup>
Bolivia	Hungary	Rumania
Brazil	Iceland	Saudi Arabia
British East African Ter- ritories including the Seychelles	India	Senegal
Bulgaria	Indonesia	Sierra Leone
Burma	Iran	Singapore and the British Territories in Borneo
Burundi <sup>1</sup>	Iraq	South Africa, Republic of
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Ireland	Spain
Cambodia	Israel	Spanish Guinea
Cameroon	Italy	Sudan
Canada	Ivory Coast	Surinam
Central African Republic	Japan	Sweden
Ceylon	Jordan	Switzerland
Chad	Korea, Republic of	Syrian Arab Republic
Chile	Kuwait	Tanganyika
China	Laos	Thailand
Colombia	Lebanon	Togo
Congo (Brazzaville)	Libya	Tunisia
Congo (Léopoldville)	Luxembourg	Turkey
Costa Rica	Malagasy Republic	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Cuba	Malaya	U.S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Mali	United Arab Republic
Dahomey	Mauritania	United Kingdom
Denmark	Mauritius	United States
Dominican Republic	Mexico	Upper Volta
Ecuador	Morocco	Uruguay
El Salvador	Netherlands	Venezuela
Ethiopia	Netherlands Antilles	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Finland	New Caledonia	The West Indies and other British Caribbean Ter- ritories
France	New Zealand	West New Guinea
French Oceanic Colonies	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
French Somaliland	Niger	
Gabon	Nigeria	
Germany, Federal Repub- lic of	Norway	
Ghana	Pakistan	
	Paraguay	
	Pèru	
	Philippines	

<sup>1</sup> Until June 30, 1962, when Ruanda-Urundi became independent countries—Rwanda and Burundi. Burundi subsequently became a member.

## *Other International Organizations*

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### INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA)

*Headquarters: Vienna, Austria*

*Director General: A. Sigvard Eklund, Sweden*

Afghanistan	Germany, Federal	Norway
Albania	Republic of	Pakistan
Argentina	Ghana	Paraguay
Australia	Greece	Peru
Austria	Guatemala	Philippines
Belgium	Haiti	Poland
Bolivia	Holy See	Portugal
Brazil	Honduras	Rumania
Bulgaria	Hungary	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Iceland	Senegal
Byelorussian S.S.R.	India	South Africa,
Cambodia	Indonesia	Republic of
Canada	Iran	Spain
Ceylon	Iraq	Sudan
Chile	Israel	Sweden
China	Italy	Switzerland
Colombia	Japan	Thailand
Congo (Léopoldville)	Korea, Republic of	Tunisia
Cuba	Lebanon	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Liberia	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Denmark	Luxembourg	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Mali	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Mexico	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Monaco	United States
Ethiopia	Morocco	Uruguay
Finland	Netherlands	Venezuela
France	New Zealand	Viet-Nam, Republic of
	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia

## *United States Representation*

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### UNITED STATES MISSIONS

#### *U.S. Mission at U.N. Headquarters in New York (USUN)*

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the Representative of the United States to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, as transmitted by the Secretary of State, in U.N. bodies at the Headquarters of the United Nations. It also serves as the channel of communication between the U.S. Government and the U.N. organs, agencies, and commissions at the Headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York. It is a base of operations for the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly and to other U.N. organs and agencies when they meet in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the U.S. mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following factors:

1. The requirements of the U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations, the General Assembly in particular.

2. The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the 81st Congress.

3. Executive Order 10108.

4. Location of the Headquarters of the United Nations in the United States and the consequent need for the United States to assume the responsibilities of "host government."

5. The fact that the United States in consequence of its leadership role in the United Nations, is represented on all organs and virtually all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The chief of the mission is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations and is assisted by two deputies of ambassadorial rank. Other



principal officers of the mission are the U.S. representatives on the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, and the Counselor of Mission.

The main source of policy guidance and strategical direction for the conduct of U.S. participation in the United Nations is necessarily the Department of State. The mission, however, has a staff consisting of a number of advisers, substantive officers, public affairs specialists, and an administrative conference section under a Chief Administrative Officer. This staff assists the U.S. Representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in the light of the political, economic and parliamentary situations in U.N. organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the U.N. Secretariat; (3) the discharge of the responsibilities of the United States as "host government," in particular those arising from the Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.) and the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 391, 79th Cong.), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; and (4) administering of all public affairs activities concerning U.S. participation in the United Nations at New York. The administrative and conference services assist the U.S. Representative by (1) planning for and administering conference operations; (2) the provision of necessary research, reference, reporting, communications and general services; and (3) the administration, personnel management, protocol and security functions of the U.S. mission.

### *U.S. Mission at U.N. European Office in Geneva*

The United States is represented at the European Office of the United Nations by a permanent mission at Geneva, Switzerland. Under the direction of the U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and other international organizations, the Geneva mission is responsible for relations with and for observing and reporting on activities in the political and economic field of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies located in Geneva. These include the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU),

and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). In addition, the mission is responsible for relations with and reporting on the activities of other international organizations located in Geneva and for necessary liaison with the missions of other countries accredited to international organizations located in Geneva.

The chief of the mission reports directly to the Secretary of State and the Department of State. Instructions to the mission are sent by the Department of State. The mission works in close coordination with the U.S. Embassies, the U.S. Mission to the European Communities (USEC), and the U.S. Mission to Regional Organizations (USRO).

### *Other United States Missions*

In addition to the U.S. missions at the U.N. Headquarters, New York, and the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva, the United States during 1962 maintained several special missions in order to participate effectively in the work of certain U.N. bodies located elsewhere.

A special U.S. mission, the Office of the U.S. Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), was maintained in Montreal, Canada, and a U.S. mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was maintained at Vienna, Austria, the Agency's headquarters.

### UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS

United States Representative and Chief of United States Mission to the United Nations:

Adlai E. Stevenson

Deputy United States Representatives:

Francis T. P. Plimpton

Charles W. Yost

*The General Assembly*

SEVENTEENTH REGULAR SESSION, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 18,  
1962—DECEMBER 21, 1962

## Representatives:

Dean Rusk<sup>1</sup>  
Adlai E. Stevenson  
Albert Gore  
Gordon Allott  
Francis T. P. Plimpton  
Arthur H. Dean

## Alternate Representatives:

Charles W. Yost  
Philip M. Klutznick  
Jonathan Brewster Bingham  
Carl T. Rowan  
Marietta P. Tree (Mrs. Ronald Tree)

## SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

*United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee (UNSAC)*

## Representative:

I. I. Rabi

*United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)*

## Representative:

Dr. Shields Warren

## Alternate Representative:

Austin M. Brues

*Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries*

## Representative:

Jonathan B. Bingham

## Alternate Representative:

Robert O. Blake

*Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space*

## Representative:

Francis T. P. Plimpton

## Technical Adviser to the U.S. Representative:

Dr. Hugh L. Dryden

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<sup>1</sup> The Secretary served as Chairman of the Delegation, *ex officio*, during his presence at the session. At other times Ambassador Stevenson served as Senior Representative.



## Deputy Representative :

Richard N. Gardner

## Alternate Representatives :

Legal : Leonard C. Meeker

Technical : Dr. Homer E. Newell

*Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression*

## Representative :

Charles P. Noyes

## Alternate Representative :

Ernest L. Kerley

*Military Staff Committee*

## Representatives :

Navy : Vice Adm. Charles Wellborn, Jr., USN

Army : Lt. Gen. E. J. O'Neill, USA (retired Mar. 31, 1962)

Lt. Gen. Garrison H. Davidson, USA

Air Force : Lt. Gen. Robert W. Burns, USAF

## Deputy Representatives :

Navy : Capt. William J. Dimitrijevic, USN (retired June 30, 1962)

Capt. Fred W. Pump, USN

Army : Col. Paul V. Fahey, USA (until Sept. 1, 1962)

Col. Clarence F. Nelson, USA

Air Force : Col. James W. Chapman, USAF (retired May 31, 1962)

Col. Arthur B. Swan, USAF

## Secretariat :

Col. Paul V. Fahey, USA (until Sept. 1, 1962)

Capt. Fred W. Pump, USN

*Interim Committee of the General Assembly*  
(Did not meet in 1962)*Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories*

## Representative :

Jonathan B. Bingham

## Alternative Representatives :

Charles P. Noyes

David H. Popper

*United Nations Collective Measures Committee*  
(Has not met since 1954)*United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine*

## Representative :

Francis T. P. Plimpton

*United Nations Peace Observation Commission*  
(Did not meet in 1962)

*United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East  
(Beirut, Lebanon)*

Representative, Advisory Commission:

Harry N. Howard

**DISARMAMENT COMMISSION**  
(Did not meet in 1962)

*The Security Council*

Representative:

Adlai E. Stevenson

Deputy Representatives:

Charles W. Yost

Francis T. P. Plimpton

*The Trusteeship Council*

Representative:

Jonathan B. Bingham

*The Economic and Social Council*

Representative:

Philip M. Klutznick (resigned Dec. 21, 1962)

Deputy Representative:

Walter Kotschnig

**FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS**

*Commodity Trade:* W. Michael Blumenthal

*Human Rights:* Mrs. Marietta P. Tree

*Narcotic Drugs:* Harry J. Anslinger

*Population:* Dr. Ansley J. Coale

*Social:* Mrs. Jane Warner Dick

*Statistical:* Raymond T. Bowman

*Status of Women:* Mrs. Gladys Avery Tillett

**REGIONAL COMMISSIONS**

*Asia and the Far East, Economic Commission for:*

18th session (Tokyo, Mar. 6-19, 1962)

U.S. Representative: Philip M. Klutznick

*Africa, Economic Commission for:*

4th session (Addis Ababa, Feb. 19–Mar. 3, 1962)

U.S. Observer: Chester Bowles (Feb. 20–21)

Martin F. Herz (Feb. 19, Feb. 22–Mar. 3)

*Europe, Economic Commission for:*

17th session (Geneva, Apr. 24–May 10, 1962)

U.S. Representative: Walter Kotschnig

*Latin America, Economic Commission for:*

8th meeting of the Committee of the Whole of ECLA (Santiago, Chile, Feb. 14–16, 1962)

U.S. Representative: Charles W. Cole

9th meeting of the Committee of the Whole of ECLA (New York, June 6–7, 1962)

U.S. Representative: Seymour M. Finger

**UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND**

U.S. Representative, Executive Board:

P. Frederick DelliQuadri

**UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO THE  
SPECIALIZED AGENCIES***Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*

U.S. Member, FAO Council

Robert C. Tetro (38th session, New York, Apr. 16–19, 1962)

Willard W. Cochrane (39th session, Rome, Oct. 15–26, 1962)

*Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization*

U.S. Representative to the Council of IMCO

Donald W. Alexander (6th session, London, Feb. 20–22, 1962)

(7th session, London, Oct. 17–19, 1962)

*International Bank for Reconstruction and Development*

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors

C. Douglas Dillon

Alternate U.S. Governor

George W. Ball

U.S. Executive Director

John M. Leddy (until Oct. 31, 1962)

John C. Bullitt (beginning Dec. 3, 1962)

Alternate U.S. Executive Director

Erle Cocke, Jr.



*International Civil Aviation Organization*

U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO

Nelson B. David

Alternate U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO and Representative on the  
Air Navigation Commission

Edmond V. Shores

*International Development Association*

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors

C. Douglas Dillon

Alternate U.S. Governor

George W. Ball

U.S. Executive Director

John M. Leddy (until Oct. 31, 1962)

John C. Bullitt (beginning Dec. 3, 1962)

Alternate U.S. Executive Director

Erle Cocke, Jr.

*International Finance Corporation*

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors

C. Douglas Dillon

Alternate U.S. Governor

George W. Ball

U.S. Executive Director

John M. Leddy (until Oct. 31, 1962)

John C. Bullitt (beginning Dec. 3, 1962)

Alternate U.S. Executive Director

Erle Cocke, Jr.

*International Labor Organization*

Representative of the Government of the United States to the Governing Body  
of the ILO

George L-P Weaver

*International Monetary Fund*

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors

C. Douglas Dillon

Alternate U.S. Governor

George W. Ball

U.S. Executive Director

Frank A. Southard, Jr. (until Nov. 1, 1962)

William B. Dale (beginning Nov. 1, 1962)

Alternate U.S. Executive Director

John S. Hooker

*International Telecommunication Union*

U.S. Representative, Administrative Council

Francis Colt DeWolf

*United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*

U.S. Member, Executive Board  
George N. Shuster

*Universal Postal Union*

(No Congress held in 1962)

*World Health Organization*

U.S. Representative, Executive Board  
Dr. H. van Zile Hyde

*World Meteorological Organization*

U.S. Member, Executive Committee  
Francis W. Reichelderfer

## UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

*International Atomic Energy Agency*

U.S. Representative  
Henry De Wolf Smyth  
Deputy U.S. Representative  
William I. Cargo

## *Publications and Documentation*

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United Nations publications include (1) the *Official Records* of the United Nations comprising the proceedings of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, Disarmament Commission, and the early U.N. Atomic Energy Commission; important reports and documents submitted to these bodies, and resolutions passed by them; (2) special studies prepared by the U.N. Secretariat describing the work of the Organization or providing data of concern to the United Nations; for example, reports on world economy, human rights, or trust territories; (3) periodicals covering most phases of United Nations work; (4) the *Treaty Series* listing all registered international treaties and signatories thereto.

United Nations publications and audiovisual materials may be purchased from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y. Selected material may be obtained from the subagents for the sale of U.N. publications listed in the following pages. The annual sales catalog, entitled *United Nations Publications*, is available through most subagents.

Distinct from U.N. publications is material put out by each of the Specialized Agencies. A list of agents for the sale of publications of the Specialized Agencies follows this explanatory note. Current U.N. publications and documents are described in the monthly *Index to United Nations Documents*.

The mimeographed documents of the various organs of the United Nations may be purchased at annual rates from the United Nations Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Reference collections of U.N. publications and documents and the publications of selected Specialized Agencies may be found at the Depository Libraries listed on the following pages. Material is also available at many other school and public libraries and in the libraries of private foundations and government agencies concerned with international affairs.

An excellent point of departure for research projects on U.N. activities is the *Yearbook of the United Nations*, an annual publica-



tion which summarizes the work of the Organization and its related agencies in all major fields and provides a guide to fuller documentation. The U.N. publication entitled *Everyman's United Nations* (Sixth Edition, October 1959) is a concise handbook of the functions and activities of the United Nations and its related agencies during the period 1945 to the end of 1958.

Material on United States policy toward issues before the United Nations may be found in the *Department of State Bulletin*, a weekly publication available in many school and public libraries, which prints the texts of major U.S. statements before the United Nations, selected documents, and interpretive articles on U.N. affairs. Foreign policy highlights are published biweekly in a State Department periodical entitled *Foreign Policy Briefs*.

The Department now covers U.S. participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency (previously dealt with in this publication) in an annual report, the second and latest being *U.S. Participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency: Report by the President to Congress for the year 1961* (Department of State publication 7393).

Another very useful document which is submitted to the House of Representatives by the Secretary of State and released as a House document is *U.S. Contributions to International Organizations*. (The latest in this series is the 10th report, 87th Congress, 2d session, House Document No. 460.)

From time to time the Department also issues publications and pamphlets dealing with international organization matters of interest to the United States. The State Department publications list is available upon request to the Office of Public Services, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

The *Department of State Bulletin* (25¢ a copy, \$8.50 a year), *Foreign Policy Briefs* (\$1 a year) and all other State Department publications carrying a price line may be purchased from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402. Remittances payable to the Superintendent of Documents should accompany orders.

**SALE OF PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES**

Publications and visual materials of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization may be purchased from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Publications of other Specialized Agencies may be purchased from:

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| (IBRD)   | Publications Office<br>International Bank for Reconstruction and Development<br>1818 H Street NW.<br>Washington, D.C.                           |
| (ICAO)   | Secretary General<br>International Civil Aviation Organization<br>International Aviation Building<br>1080 University Street<br>Montreal, Canada |
| (IDA)    | Publications Office<br>International Development Association<br>1818 H Street NW.<br>Washington, D.C.   |
| (IFC)    | Publications Office<br>International Finance Office<br>1818 H Street NW.<br>Washington, D.C.  |
| (ILO)    | International Labor Office<br>917-15th Street NW.<br>Washington, D.C.   |
| (IMCO)   | Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization<br>Chancery House, Chancery Lane<br>London, W.C. 2, England                               |
| (IMF)    | Publications Office<br>International Monetary Fund<br>1850 H Street NW.<br>Washington, D.C.   |
| (ITU)    | The General Secretariat<br>International Telecommunication Union<br>Palais Wilson<br>Geneva, Switzerland  |
| (UNESCO) | UNESCO Publications Centre<br>152 W. 42d Street<br>New York, N.Y.   |
| (UPU)    | The International Bureau<br>Universal Postal Union<br>Schosshaldenstrasse 46<br>Berne 15, Switzerland   |

(WMO) World Meteorological Organization  
Campagne Rigot  
1, Avenue de la Paix  
Geneva, Switzerland



## SUBAGENTS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR SALE OF UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS

*California*

U.N. Association of Los Angeles  
5110 Wilshire Blvd.  
Los Angeles  
World Affairs Council of Northern  
California  
421 Powell St.  
San Francisco  
Los Angeles World Affairs Council  
Mobil Oil Bldg.  
612 S. Flower St.  
Los Angeles

*Connecticut*

World Affairs Center  
20 E. State St.  
Westport

*Illinois*

American Association for the United  
Nations  
59 E. Madison  
Chicago  
Chicago Council on Foreign Relations  
Pamphlet Center, 116 S. Michigan  
Ave.  
Chicago

*Maryland*

UN Association of Maryland  
1 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.  
Baltimore

*Massachusetts*

World Affairs Council  
10 Arlington St.  
Boston  
UN Information Center  
World Affairs Council  
105 Newbury St.  
Boston

*Minnesota*

Minnesota UN Association  
1124 Metropolitan Bldg.  
Minneapolis

*Missouri*

St. Louis World Affairs Council  
418 Olive St.  
St. Louis

*New Hampshire*

New Hampshire Council on World  
Affairs  
Commons Bldg.  
Durham

*New York*

World Affairs Center  
Book Pamphlet and Documents  
Department  
47th St. and U.N. Plaza  
New York  
US Committee for one UN  
375 Park Ave.  
New York  
American Association for the United  
Nations  
345 E. 46th St.  
New York

*Ohio*

Cincinnati Council on World Affairs  
Suite 1028  
Dixie Terminal Bldg.  
Cincinnati  
Council on World Affairs  
922 Society for Savings Bldg.  
Cleveland  
World Affairs Council of Toledo  
331 Security Bldg.  
Toledo

*Pennsylvania*

World Affairs Council of Philadelphia  
The John Wanamaker Store  
13th and Market Sts.  
Philadelphia  
UN Association of Pittsburgh  
131 N. Bellefield Ave.  
Pittsburgh

*Texas*

Dallas Council on World Affairs  
2419 Maple Ave.  
Dallas

DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATED BY  
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Denver Public Library Denver	x					
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Yale University New Haven	x		x			
<i>District of Columbia</i>						
Brookings Institution	x					
Pan American Union	x				x	
Library of Congress	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Illinois</i>						
Library of International Relations Chicago	x	x	x			
University of Chicago Chicago	x				x	
Northwestern University Evanston	x			x		
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Louisiana State University Baton Rouge	x	x	x		x	
<i>Maryland</i>						
Johns Hopkins University Baltimore	x		x			
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DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATED BY  
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St. Louis Public Library	x				x	
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<i>New York</i>						
Cornell University	x					
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Columbia University Law Library	x					
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New York						
Institute of Aeronautical Sciences				x		
New York						
New York Public Library	x	x	x	x	x	
New York						
New York University	x		x			
New York						
<i>North Carolina</i>						
University of North Carolina	x				x	
Chapel Hill						
<i>Ohio</i>						
Cleveland Public Library	x				x	
Cleveland						
<i>Pennsylvania</i>						
University of Pennsylvania	x					
Philadelphia						
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Austin						
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